



RUSSIAN PROHIBITION

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By ERNEST GORDON

"The emancipation from this fearful evil will form an epoch in the life of humanity, and that epoch is, I believe, dawning."

—Count Lyof Tolstoi.

"Warum die Menschen sich betauben."



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Russian Prohibition

THE Iconostasis, or great screen back of the altar in Russian churches is pierced by three doors. The officiating priests alone are allowed to go through the central one. Once, however, in his life, the ruler of all the Russias is also permitted to pass within. This solemn privilege might well have been exercised after the signing of the vodka Prohibition rescript, for no other single action of the Tsar's life can ever have the far-ramifying moral influence that this already has had. His great ancestor, Peter the Great, in building the capital city on the Neva is said to have opened a window for his people to look out upon Europe. The Tsar of present-day Russia has cut through a window upon our most baffling social problem and the light from it is streaming not out of, but into Europe.

There is a commonplace observation in all social agitation which contrasts governmental willingness to do for animals with its extreme reluctance to care properly for human beings. One recalls the powerful passage in Octave Mirbeau's novel, where a Parisian carpenter is summoned into the country to build hen-houses on a rich man's estate. In a bitter soliloquy the workman contrasts the light and roomy quarters of the fowls with the sordid warrens in which the proletariat of his *arrondissement* are crowded. The Russian peasant temperance leader Tchelichov was wont to describe how quickly the authorities, on finding that the naphtha leakage from Volga steamers was killing the fish, intervened to make the companies substitute steel for wooden barges. How much better is a man than a fish! In burning words he

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would upbraid those in power for their indifference to the systematic poisoning of the Russian masses with vodka. But at last the people have been considered and it is doubtful if any edict or act in their favor—peace proclamation, declaration of emancipation, revolution—has brought with it such widespread and immediate relief as this simple prohibitive word. The greatest social revolution of our generation has come into being as quietly as the dawning of a summer morning. If the question had been drafted before the fact there would have been plenty to insist that the river of vodka, the mightiest alcoholic flood flowing through the social life of Europe, could no more be stopped by fiat than Mother Volga herself in her vast windings. Russian Prohibition has shown beyond the possibility of appeal, that no natural law is back of the drink shop's existence, making this inevitably and fatally present among us, but only moral laziness, tradition, and above all, the determination to make money out of the alcoholic misery of men. And if, by any great mishap, Prohibition should not continue after the war—a thing extremely unlikely—it will at least have furnished the proof on an imperial scale and never to be gainsaid, of its social value.

I.

ST. VLADIMIR, after a victory over the Tartars, was wont to throw open all the drink shops to his loyal subjects without charge that they might duly celebrate, and there was much of St. Vladimir's spirit in the way the Russo-Japanese war was conducted. From one point of view, at least, the campaigns in Manchuria resembled a scuffle between a drunken guardsman and a sober policeman. All the evidence goes to show that vodka had the right of

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way as unquestionably as Milwaukee beer in the Spanish-American war. Perhaps more so. One recalls the Russian naval attack on the trawlers of the Dogger Bank, an episode which awakened the hilarity of the whole world. It has usually been attributed to alcoholized visions of Japanese warships. An eye-witness of the Manchurian campaign (Ulrich, *Die Feuerprobe der Russischen Armee*) describes in various passages the drunkenness among Russian army officers. Thus (p. 196) "In Vladivostock I entered a cafe one evening with a German merchant. It was filled with officers, the most of whom were drunk,—one old captain, so much so that he fell off his chair and slept, lying on the floor. Meanwhile, in one corner of the cafe, a quarrel had broken out. There was a regular explosion of revolvers and two officers, apparently wounded severely, were left lying." Again (p. 198) at Charbin "I saw to my astonishment at the police station 83 officers' swords. On my question as to what this meant the Chief of Police at Charbin, Colonel Dundin, replied that they were the swords of officers taken up in the preceding night for gross disorder. Only the worst cases were arrested." That these instances were typical seems clear from the statistical reports of the campaign. The official statement of sicknesses of a psychical nature among army officers in the Asiatic service assigns to epileptic, hysteric, neurasthenic, traumatic and other psychoses relatively insignificant percentages. When we come to alcoholic psychoses, however, we have another story. These amounted to 34.56 per cent of the total. Adding to this figure percentages for acute alcoholism, 5.63, we have a total of over 40 per cent. This goes far to explain the mismanagement, bad generalship and final *debacle* on the steppes of Manchuria in 1904.

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One can hardly say that the Russian government gave more than tardy heed to the warning which these experiences presented. It was not until the middle of 1914 that a ukase was issued putting rigid anti-alcohol regulations into force in the army. In the nick of time, indeed! Two months later came the crash which was to tax Russia's morale and resources as at no period since Napoleonic days.

The decree for alcohol reform ran as follows:

"His Majesty, the Emperor, in his constant care for the welfare of the army, to protect it from the injurious consequences of the use of alcohol, proved such by science and experience, commands that the following measures against the use of alcoholic drinks in the army be strictly followed. In this way the strength, health, and psychic vigor of the army, which are so necessary, both in peace and war time, will be held to an ever higher standard.

"THE MINISTER OF WAR,
"General Adjutant Sukhomlinov."

The regulations which follow would seem revolutionary if they had not been rendered almost insignificant by the later general Prohibition regime in Russia. As it is they give the impression of an electric light shining full strength after sunrise.^A

A. It may be worth while to record some of the regulations as furnishing a standard for other armies and navies. The first paragraphs deal with officers; the later ones with enlisted men.

"Army officers, especially those of the highest rank, are under obligation to carry out all measures which will diminish the use of alcoholic drinks in military units under their charge. In every officer's papers must be particularly entered what his relation to alcoholic drink is. In the attests of military officials of all ranks it must be mentioned what their attitude is to the task of lessening the use of alcoholic drinks in the army divisions under them. . . . At all times of service—order of the day, watch, drills, shooting practice, review of troops, manoeuvres, alarm-call, mobilization and all other military service the use of alcoholic drink is forbidden. . . . The officers' casinos are not to be places for drinking. The serving of alcoholic drinks can occur only at the chief meals. There can be no buffets for the sale of wine and liquors. . . . Officers' co-operatives cannot deliver alcoholic drink on credit. Branches of such co-operatives in war areas are absolutely forbidden to sell alcoholic drink. . . . Commanders of army divisions have, with the aid of regimental

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On July 30, 1914, the Russian government ordered the mobilization of its army. Some days later a temporary vodka Prohibition went into effect. This immensely facilitated the gigantic task. According to M. Bark, the Minister of Finance, in an interview with a representative of the *Petit Parisien*, the mobilization went off with a regularity which surpassed all expectations. "There had been difficulties in the Russo-Japanese war and we looked for a certain *minus* in the number of men called out. But there was none. More soldiers presented themselves than were expected."¹

chaplains, to arrange for the organization of temperance unions. . . . In order that the officers may be familiar with the injurious action of alcohol upon the human organism the regimental physicians are obliged, at least twice yearly, to hold lectures upon the subject in the presence of all officers. . . . The commanders of divisions must enter in their yearly reports what has been undertaken in the course of the year in every army unit for the lessening of the use of alcoholic drink.

"The use of alcoholic drink is prohibited to enlisted men of all classes during active service, including the reserves and the Landwehr during their training. . . . It is not permitted to send soldiers into restaurants, wine-shops, etc., to get alcoholic drinks (i. e., for the officers). . . . It is forbidden to promote any soldier to the rank of non-commissioned officer who has been punished for the use of alcoholic drinks; in fact to raise his rank at all. . . . Men in the ranks in whom a tendency to drunkenness is observable must be entered in special lists. They are to be under the constant observation of their superiors, are to forfeit privileges of free time and must be invited by the regimental chaplain and physician to instruction. The families of such men are requested not to send money to them. In case money comes it must be entered in a savings bank book and given out only under control of the company chief. On the dismissal of troops from active service it is forbidden to make payment for those who have been so listed. . . . Lectures by the physicians on the injuriousness of the use of alcohol must be given to the men at least once monthly; to the listed men once weekly. These must be accompanied with demonstrations with lantern, diagrams, tables, etc. Such tables and pictures must be hung on the walls of the cantonments. Books of anti-alcohol tendency must be procured for the regimental libraries."—Int. Monats. zur Erforschung d. Alk., 1914.

B The contrast between the two mobilizations is strikingly pictured by Miss Brush in the Saturday Evening Post article:

"In the mobilization for the Japanese war the soldiers were carried, dead with intoxication, to the trains. When they came to stations, those who could walk tore wildly out of the coaches for the saloons, and if bar-keepers refused to sell they broke bottles over their heads. In terror the drilled troops in charge of recruits telegraphed ahead to stations to have two hundred or more soldiers on hand when the train went through. Even under such surveillance the men sometimes broke open the doors of the trains and tore up the railroad stations. Several commanders in one quarter were terrified at getting three hundred men without convoy and all drunk.

"An article was printed recently in a paper called the Voice, of Moscow, which stated, 'The reservists searched every man as he entered the barracks. All had vodka. The searchers always threw it into the

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The government, for some time previously, had had measures under consideration for the checking of the colossal disaster which the Spirits Monopoly had brought upon the nation. A strong local option law had received favorable treatment in the Duma. The Emperor himself, in calling M. Bark to the Ministry of Finance, had impressed on him the imperative necessity of alcohol reform. In a rescript addressed to the new Ministry, the Tsar had written:

"I have come to the firm conviction that a duty lies upon me before God and Russia to introduce into the management of the state finances fundamental reforms for the welfare of my beloved people. It is not meet that the welfare of the Exchequer should be dependent upon the ruin of the spiritual and productive energies of numbers of my loyal subjects."¹

The elements of a great reform, therefore, were all present and it needed but a sudden shock to throw down the precipitate and to clear the solution. This came in the declaration of war which has proved to be the overture to one of the most beneficent social emancipations which history has yet seen. Mr. William Watson has described "War's red cup" as "Satan's chosen drink," but one can almost say that by its association with Prohibition it has proved a cup of blessing to Russia.

street. In one peasant's rags eleven bottles were found. His eyes ran with tears when he saw them broken. The heap of shattered glass grew. A dirty stream of vodka flowed through the courtyard. Many threw themselves on their knees and, in spite of the dirt, tried to drink from the pools. They were kicked back. Three truckloads of broken glass were transported.'

"There is nothing in the present mobilization to remind one of that disgraceful scene. Men in the cleanest and newest of long tan coats walk erect and in sturdy lines. As you pass them on the pavements they scan you with a child-like gaze, alert with intelligent wonder."

1 Quoted in the London Times, Russian Supplement, Jan. 15, 1915.

II.

THE evidence is practically unanimous. It is of every type and from every section of the Empire. The consumption of vodka in September, 1913, was 9,232,921 kegs. In September, 1914, the first complete month of Prohibition, it had dropped to 102,714 kegs. In the same months financial receipts of the Monopoly collapsed like a pricked bladder. The decrease was actually 98 per cent. Naturally, drunkenness declined *pari passu*. The writer recalls some years ago watching the passers on the square in front of the Nikolai Station in Petrograd, on Sunday afternoons. Every other one seemed to be lurching at an angle of 30 degrees from the normal pose and the general effect was that of a group of small yachts, tipping and twisting, in a rough sea. "We wandered day and night in the Russian metropolis," wrote Dr. Helenius, in the fall of 1914. "We visited hotels, restaurants, side-streets, alleys. We felt like rubbing our eyes. It seemed as if we were walking in a dream, for of what one formerly saw there was nothing. We found no drunken people." "Who would have expected a few months ago," wrote the Petrograd correspondent of (Stockholm) *Svenska Dagbladet*, "that present-day Petersburg, the home of pleasure, of excesses, of vices, would, so to speak, vanish, to emerge under a new name and a new appearance as perhaps Europe's most temperate and safest city. Those who have not seen this mighty metamorphosis with their own eyes will have difficulty in believing in its possibility." And another journalist, Renzo Larco, writing in the *Corriere della Sera*, adds: "The Russians cannot believe their eyes. We who read descriptions of the previous era find it hard to trust the witness of these pessimistic observers."

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In two months I doubt if I have run across more than two intoxicated."C

"The bear who walks like a man" now walks like a man and not like a sot. Moscow was for many years overrun with an army of professional beggars dubbed "hunters," and estimated at no less than 30,000 in number. They were drunkards, thieves, victims of disgusting diseases. Half of them begged "in Christ's name" pretending to be crippled, a fourth exploited children as beggars, some operating with five or more little ones. The authorities would arrest them, send them to the workhouse, and later despatch them into distant villages, but after a few weeks they would be back, often with assumed names, in their old haunts. Prohibition has reduced the number of these parasites amazingly, the most moderate estimate I can find (Official Police Report quoted in *Vestnik Tresvosti*, January, 1915), being a reduction of 70 per cent. The night asylums of Moscow know them no more. Thus the Morosov Asylum, with 1,100 sleeping places, has at present but 250-300 guests; the Syromiatnik, one-half the usual number. The municipal asylums also have few inmates now and these are usually of the honest sort. Petrograd was overflowing with Polish refugees during the weeks that the writer was in the city and one of the sights of the war was the motley, dejected crowd of women and children on the steps of the Polish church on the Nevsky Prospekt. These

C It is delightful to observe how people accommodate themselves to the new situation. A Prohibition city of approximately two million people seems, apparently, to the inhabitants themselves, the most natural thing in the world. "One would be inclined to imagine," writes the Petrograd correspondent of *Svenska Dagbladet*, "that the taking away of everything alcoholic would have caused marked difficulties among those accustomed to it from youth. Yet neither among the laboring class nor among the cultivated could anything of the sort be detected. Although I myself, for more than 30 years, have taken my glass, I cannot affirm that the deprivation has been hard. Nor do I notice any desire for the 'good old times.' One feels better in one's head, more elastic, and fitter for work. I believe this has been the general experience. It is only the first step that seems hard. One has not the energy to break the habit of years. But with the support of the autocrat's will all goes well."

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refugees have been temporarily placed in quarters usually occupied by the beggars and tramps of the city. When the question was put to one of the workers as to where the dispossessed tramps now lodged, the answer came "People of this class have disappeared since Prohibition." The city of Tula has had a house near its hospital, where extreme cases of drunkenness were taken to sober off. We place the number of pre-Prohibition and Prohibition admissions in parallel.

1913.		1914.	
August,	30 admissions.	August,	8 admissions.
September,	30 admissions.	September,	3 admissions.
October,	(Not given.)	October,	3 admissions.
November,	96 admissions.	November,	3 admissions.
December,	141 admissions.	December,	3 admissions.

The place has been changed into a reception room for the hospital! A Kasan temperance society ran a hospital for alcoholists. In the report for 1914, 178 alcoholists are mentioned as in residence and 1,421 cases as having been treated in the course of the year. After the beginning of the war no new ones came so that by January 1, 1915, all were discharged. The drunkards have not only left but have taken their children and wives out of other asylums and set up family life again. Not more than one-half of the former number of night lodgers come now to the shelter attached to this work. In the Society's restaurants there were 123,830 gratis tickets for food distributed in 1914, and 100,029 free tea tickets. After Prohibition the number diminished by 50 per cent.²

No one knows more about these alcoholic wrecks than Father Mirtov, the pastor of a large church on the Obvodny Canal, near the Warsaw Station. Father Mirtov is a man of sympathetic personality, of tall figure, vigorous, fresh manner, flowing brown beard

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and leonine mane. The kindly eyes flash with interest through the horn-rimmed spectacles. He is the apostle of anti-alcoholism in the Russian Church, and a man of power as orator and leader. Behind him is the Alexander Nevsky Temperance Society with local groups running up to 3,000 in number. It was through their preliminary agitation, he tells me, that the way was prepared for vodka Prohibition. Father Mirtov receives letters every day from mothers begging that Prohibition continue. They tell him in many cases that their boys, who had disappeared as vagabonds, have come home again. In other instances sons driven away by the violence of drunken fathers return when they learn that their father is now sober. "Hospitals formerly overcrowded with sick drunkards, have so few of them now that there is provision for wounded soldiers in addition to the usual sick. In the villages there is a mighty cry for literature where once there was little or no reading. The people who formerly lay around drunk on holidays now ask for lectures on these church days." In the old horrible days Father Mirtov used to provide free temperance dinners to the alcohol outcasts of Petrograd. A hundred would gather daily on week days and at times on Sundays, the number would go as high as two thousand. Now nobody turns up.^D A similar story comes from the Dom Evangelia, the great mission church of the Russian Baptists in the Vassiliostrov quarter of Petrograd. The long Lenten fast terminates in Russia with a feast on Easter morning. First there is a service "when it is yet dark." After this reminiscence

^D In passing into the parish house connected with the church one could see a long line of hundreds of women, the wives of soldiers at the front, who were waiting for their government allowanees. This is dealt out to them, after due inquiries, by a group of volunteer clerks—women students from the university. The recipients are sober, decent women thanks, in many cases, to Prohibition. One could not but contrast them with the slatternly daughters of Anglicanism boozing away their war relief in the gin palaces of London.

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of the women at the tomb the Orthodox go to their homes to tables loaded with food and Russian delicacies. In this mission church it has been the custom for several years back to hold the early morning service and afterwards to spread a table for the tramps and drunkards of the quarters. In 1913 and 1914 the large hall, seating 700 or more, was crowded. In 1915 there was no one present.

The beautiful suburban woods of Lisnoi, just out of Petrograd, were formerly invaded on Sundays and Saintdays by armies of roughs and drinkers who would carry huge bottles containing a quarter of a *vedro* and in addition would stuff their pockets with smaller bottles. Many would come alone with the purpose of getting drunk and lying in delicious *coma* under the trees. Others preferred to fight like a whole pack of Ivan the Terribles. On such days it was very unsafe for women and children to go into the woods. But this is now all changed. The women and children at last have a place in the sun—and in the shades—of Lisnoi.

It is Circe's miracle reversed—swine made men!

Of illustrations there are no end. Here is one from Mlle. K., who describes to me the pre-Prohibition condition in the village near her estate, 140 *versts* from Petrograd. There were 16 vodka shops in the district. A single one took in 20,000 rubles yearly. Holy days were great days for drunkenness and following the drinking came the fighting. There are 12 great feasts of the church in the year. For years back each of these has been marked with a murder. The villagers would, on these church days, engage in pitched battles with clubs and knives.^E And the vic-

^E Mr. A. of Petrograd told me of a fishing trip to which he was invited by a landed proprietor before the war broke out. Fifty peasants were also asked along to help in the handling of the seines. The host brought several vedros of vodka with him and the day ended in a free fight between the groups from rival villages.

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tory of the one party would leave a rankling feud to be fought over again on subsequent saint days. It was a Scythian paganism with a veneer of alcoho-clerical Christianity. One finds like types of alcoho-clerical phenomena in Catania, in Italy, in the annual excursion to the shrine of St. Alfio with the "return procession of the drunkards" and its accompanying knife-play.

But these multitudinous knife dramas have been ended in Russia by a pen stroke.

My informant tells me of peasants who, in the pre-Prohibition days, would start out to market with horse and a team loaded with produce and return with neither horse nor cart and with pockets void of any return for the hard-earned produce. Now they are prospering. *Moujiks*, who never possessed purses before, now carry them with pride and have money in them.

A journalist reporting on Prohibition in the *Novoe Vremya* (August 28-September 10, 1915), cross-questions certain "haulers-on-land" in a teashop. These are sinewy, sunburnt fellows covered with the dust from the lime and chalk which they team from the Yeletz deposits. When their interrogator suggested that they might be longing for vodka they answered emphatically: "No! It is better without it. We should have had Prohibition before. Had there been no vodka from the time of the Liberation (of the serfs) we should have lived like lords long ago. It is only now that we understand that. Only now are we beginning to get a little sunshine in life." As a matter of fact the peasants in Monopoly days bitterly cursed vodka while drinking it. Mme. Y. described to me a visit to a night asylum of the type which Gorki has pictured. She spoke to the men about religious things. This, however, only elicited the bit-

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terest recriminations against a 'government which could make money out of the extreme misery of the drinkers. The vehemence and almost demoniac bitterness of this victim of the Monopoly was so intense as to frighten her. A report of the Statistical Bureau of the Government of Poltova states that former drunkards are the greatest friends of the new order. It was hard at first for them, but now they live a new life. Some reports speak of their new "mania for work." Those who tried denatured spirits soon gave it up as too repulsive. One correspondent marks that there is now no more strife but peace everywhere as "among the early Christians."³ Peasant correspondence in the *Russkia Viedomosti* is full of quaint observations on the great change. "The war has taken much from the village but has replaced it by something new and beautiful; we see each other always sober." . . . "There were some tears when our boys were going out (to the war) but they were different from those which our wives and children used to shed when we came home drunk. The new tears are beautiful." . . . "The spiritual uplift is simply incredible," adds a teacher.⁴

III.

IN the machinery for mass alcoholization the pawnshop is an important factor everywhere. Reports from Moscow assert that "the Lombards"—the mediaeval title for the pawnbroker still survives in Russia—have seen their business decline by one-half. In both Petrograd and Moscow pawnshops there has been a general discharge of clerks corresponding to the increase of the clerical staff in the sav-

³ How Vodka Prohibition Has Influenced the Life of the Population, Poltova, 1915. Quoted in the *Int. Monats. z. Erforsch. d. Alk.* p. 188, 1915.

⁴ Quoted by Mme. Jarintzoff, *Contemp. Review*, September, 1915.

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ings banks. But with a decrease in loans has gone along an increase in the sale of pledged articles, especially of furniture. The home, the social unit, is being rehabilitated. This decrease in loans has been chiefly in small loans—between one and four rubles—indicating how relief is coming to the desperately poor and to the most hopeless victims of alcohol. "Moscow usurers have, as a class, disappeared," writes *Vestnik Tresvosti* (March, 1915). Like reports are sent in from the country. In the old days (so I am informed by a close observer in Central Russia) there was always, at the country banks, an excess in application for loans and a minus in deposits. Now the deposits outnumber the loan applications. Women formerly ran constantly to the banks to negotiate small loans during the absence of husbands or to complete the purchase of a horse or for this or that other cause. This habit is disappearing. The *Birzhevyia Viedomosti* (July 10, 1915) states that while, in late years, some 19,000 poor persons have been helped annually by the city of Petrograd, the number now is but five or six daily (perhaps 2,000 a year). Statistics of this sort must, for the present, be taken with reserve. But even when ruthlessly discounted they contain an impressive balance—so great is the margin of difference between the old and the new.

Prohibition is making itself felt in an enhanced economic output. "It is as if Russia had added millions of laborers to her labor reserve without even increasing the expense of maintaining them," said Mr. Lloyd-George in the House of Commons, February 15th. The Russian Minister of Finance is quoted as saying: "In the coal regions we have sent 30 per cent of the male inhabitants to the war and yet the output of work is greater by 30 per cent, because everyone

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is sober." It must be remembered, however, that the coal miners of the Don have been an especially alcoholized group. Factory inspectors reporting on a marked decline in fines (also about 30 per cent) in factories and other industrial enterprises, remark especially on the striking fall in the number of fines imposed on Don miners. The English foremen of the Thornton Mills, Schlüsselburg, are enthusiastic over the men's new promptness and efficiency. Rope-makers are declaring that it would simply have been impossible in the pre-prohibition period to turn out the product they are now delivering to the army. Reports of this character are general. One can imagine how favorably they will react later, on the movement of capital to Russia. A special study made in the Moscow industrial area shows results from prohibition very substantial, though falling below the percentages reported by M. Bark. Mr. Henry Dunster Baker, the commercial *attache* of the American Legation, is, as his name indicates, a descendent of the Puritan first president of Harvard, but he does not fancy prohibition and "would vote against it in the United States." Yet he is satisfied that it has intensified industrial efficiency and enormously increased popular savings. He also called my attention to the considerable increase in the amount of land which has been put into cultivation since prohibition. This is accounted for by the heightened energy of the peasantry and is the more remarkable in that the most effective workers on the land have been drafted into the army literally by millions. M. Faressov gives in the *Novoe Vremya* illustrations from the Bolkhov district. "Formerly the peasant here would lease one *dessiatin* of land. Now with the money saved from vodka he is able to hire three or four."⁵ The em-

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ployer is not the only one who profits from increased efficiency. The price of labor has gone up in a very remarkable manner. The war has played an important part in this rise, but so has prohibition also. The laborer saves his capital and is able to bargain more advantageously with his employer. In the vodka era he had to work on any terms offered him.^F

To a heightened earning power corresponds naturally a heightened spending power. Legitimate industries—clothing shops, grocery stores, meat markets, experience unlooked for sales. In Petrograd, in a street car, when a passenger expressed his satisfaction with the new conditions, a man stood up and boasted that he had now whole boots—he who never had had such, even in coldest weather. Early in the winter when there were rumors of German advance through Finland large crews of men were hired to throw up earthworks near the capital. One contingent after working long enough to accumulate a considerable sum decided to visit Petrograd in a body

F In the *Int. Monats z. Erforschung d. Alkoholismus*, Sept., 1915, is a study of a Russian document entitled "The Sobering of the Workman: Statistical Investigation of the Influence of Alcohol Prohibition Upon Work; Made Under the Leadership of Ph. J. Kubatzky, Moscow, 1915." This inquiry was undertaken at the instance of the industrialists of the Moscow Government, embracing ten Russian administrative circuits. It covered the months of August, September and October, 1914. The statistics were drawn from 172 factories employing 214,700 workmen. Complete answers were obtained concerning 189,250 workmen—114,606 employed in cotton spinning, 42,354 in metal industries, 13,469 in wool and 5,307 in food industries. The investigation studied, first, the difference in loss of time before and after Prohibition. This loss is ordinarily due to drunkenness, sickness or to family troubles. During the three months of 1913 mentioned, the number of thousand hours lost were 4,347, or 23 hours per workman; in 1914, 3,001.8, or 16.5 hours per workman. This was a decrease of 31 per cent in 1914. When the male operatives alone are considered the decrease is found to be 36.8 per cent (2,455,600 hours in 1913 and 1,308,000 in 1914). The decrease among women is naturally far less (1,661,300 to 1,526,800).

The investigator reckons that the increase of productivity because of Prohibition is, for the male workman, about 9 per cent. The report states that in the textile industry of Russia, thanks to improvements in technique—productivity increased between 1900 and 1910 by 5.5 per cent, or .55 per cent yearly. "What better technique has been able to attain with infinite exertion alcohol Prohibition has brought about almost automatically."

In 1913 27 per cent of all male absence from work was on days after Sundays and holidays; 18.6 per cent female. The difference is obviously

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to celebrate in the old way. But vodka was not to be procured for love or money. Every man of them, therefore, invested in a new suit of clothes. "Peasants who in vodka days never put by a *kopek* are buying good plows and drills and harvesting machinery." "In Tambov the *zemstvo* shop has sold out its entire stock." "Village stores never had so much trade." The Report of the Statistical Bureau for the Government of Poltova writes: "The peasant works more, is able to buy more live stock and to undertake repairs. Some state that they have been able to buy a wall clock or a sewing machine. Debts are being paid rapidly." The Swedish Consul in Petrograd, Mr. K. E. Widerström, in reporting to his government the

due to drink. In 1914 this difference had practically disappeared (19 per cent male and 18 per cent female). In the Prohibition period the men worked as much on days after holidays as on other days.

The statistics of lost time after pay day tells the same story:

	Aug.-Oct., 1913	Aug.-Oct., 1914
Number of workmen answering.....	63,314	62,968
Number of days after wage payments.....	234	195
Loss of hours of work on days after payment of wages	133,200	51,400

There has been a slight increase in accidents recorded, which is at first perplexing. The workmen explain it by the fact that the war has called from the factories thousands of experienced and reliable workers who have been replaced by inexperienced, raw hands. To the Prohibition law is due the fact that the number of accidents has not been far greater.

Follows a special investigation concerning productivity and Prohibition. Here it is found, studying 2,646 men and 712 women workers, that the total productivity has increased 7.1 per cent; of men alone 8 per cent, and of men in the metal industries by 12.4 per cent.

The third part of the Moscow report gives expressions of opinions from employers concerning the economic value of Prohibition. The judgment is unanimous. Prohibition has had an extraordinarily favorable action upon productivity. One reports as follows:

Number of persons employed	619
Loss of time in 1913	19,061 hours
Loss of time in 1914	7,138 hours
Decrease	11,922 hours
Loss of time after holidays, 1913.....	5,339 hours
Loss of time after holidays, 1913.....	398 hours
Decrease	4,940 hours
Loss of time after paydays, 1913.....	5,335 hours
Loss of time after holidays, 1914.....	278 hours
Decrease	4,958 hours
Loss of time because of sickness, 1913.....	8,491 hours
Loss of time because of sickness, 1914.....	6,467 hours
Decrease	2,024 hours

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various causes which have led to an increase of the price of wheat in Russia, says: "3. Prohibition has also been a factor. The peasant needs no money for whisky for he cannot get it. He therefore prefers to hold his grain for a rise in price. It must not be forgotten that, thanks to prohibition, the people eat more bread. Money formerly spent on spirits is used for food, clothes and savings."^{6G} In the *Birzhevyia Viedomosti*, September 9, 1915, an article attributes the shortage of milk in Petrograd to increased demand caused by the presence of great numbers of Polish fugitives and wounded soldiers in the city, and thirdly, "to the greater consumption of milk since the prohibition of vodka." A "substitute" drink which anti-prohibition press agents have not cared to report! It is interesting to learn that while more food is being

6 Kommersiella Meddelanden, No. 13, 1915; p. 437.

G Mr. Widerström continues: "The Prohibition of spirits, which has been in operation since the outbreak of the war, has had an unspeakably great influence on the growth of Russia's home industries. . . . The horrors of war will be forgotten after a generation, but the blessings of Prohibition will endure forever. . . . The nation and the government have learned that it is possible to live without spirits. They have, to their astonishment, seen the humbler classes' purchasing power, instead of greatly decreasing as was generally expected, actually increase in certain directions after the war's outbreak. . . . The situation is especially striking in the harbor and at loading points. The ragged figures are almost all gone and instead of asking alms for whisky and night lodgings these formerly degraded persons are contributing to collections for the relief of war victims. In many places where no one could show himself after dark without risking life there is now no danger, and the number of crimes has fallen enormously. Every effort of the brewers and dealers in wine and beer to have the sale of wine and beer allowed, is met with the strongest opposition from many city governments, from the clergy, and from the industrials. These last look with apprehension to the time when vodka shall be allowed sale again. Those who complain of Prohibition are the financially hit—brewers, distillers and sellers. Those who thank God and the Tsar are the millions of women and children in this great land." The consul further reports on the magnificent system of elevators which is being put into operation to save the peasantry from speculators and usurers. He describes this as the most important blessing which has come to the Russian people after emancipation in 1861 and Prohibition in 1914.—Kommersiella Meddelanden, July 15, 1915. pp. 435-438.

I had at my country place Stegalovka, a perfect blacksmith, famous for his work; but no peasant wanting to have his horse shod was admitted unless he brought along a bottle of vodka. While formerly, in summer and winter, Simon the Dog, as he was called, wore nothing but rags, now he is well clad, and when people fail to recognize him in his new garments he smilingly cries out: "It is I, indeed, Simon the Dog, and I praise the Lord." Novoe Vremja, Aug. 28-Sept. 10. Multiply this by the million and calculate the effect on the clothing trade!

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consumed generally, there is a decline in the consumption of food in prisons, due naturally to a fall in the number of prisoners. The Petrograd district courts up to July 1, 1914, sentenced 9,717 persons to jail for all crimes; during the second half of 1914 (chiefly prohibition months) the number fell to 3,817. A contractor who supplied one prison in Petrograd with meat found his sales cut down by about 12 *poods* (435 lbs.) daily.

The Swedish professor, Dr. Hjalmar Sjögren, who stands in close relation to the Nobel Brothers, great dynamite and petroleum industrials of Petrograd and Baku, wrote as early as the fall of 1914, after a two months' visit to Russia:

"One knows the Russians no longer since the vodka traffic has closed down. The Russian workman and peasant are now a wholly different type from that which one was accustomed to see before. The people hitherto have carried an unmistakable stamp of poverty. Now the working people are well-clothed and well-fed. During the four months prohibition has existed they have succeeded in repairing both the inner and the outer man.

"Formerly workmen seldom came to work on Mondays. Now they are in their places daily. Then they went with their wages Saturday evening to the saloon. Now they buy food and clothing. The result has been a magnificent and wholly unexpected boom both in the clothing and food-stuff industries. This in spite of the war. Formerly a Russian worker could not buy eggs and butter, wear good clothes on Sundays, possess good shoes and rubbers. Now he is able to procure them all. This is a peculiarly gratifying result of the severe prohibitory decrees. This strikes one immediately. As a result, sympathy for the new order grows day by day. The protests of

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brewers and distillers are remarkably weak since they know their petitions, under present conditions, will be without effect. Public opinion among the masses, in the city governments, in the country *zemstvos*, is so universally favorable to the new order that it would be difficult, indeed, to oppose it. The blessings which abstinence brings with it are too obvious. Prohibition has revolutionized Russia and no one who has not seen it can conceive how advantageously it works."⁷

The wealth of the nation instead of running off into the sewers began now to be conserved. Enormous increases in popular savings were directly observable. The deposits in the state savings banks for the first nine months of prohibition are displayed in the following table from the *Times Russian Supplement*, June 28, 1915:

	1914 Rubles	1913 Rubles
August	-1-10,100,000	-700,000
September	-1-25,800,000	-1-1,100,000
October	-1-21,700,000	-1-1,500,000
November	-1-24,800,000	-1-5,100,000
December	-1-35,200,000	-1-700,000
	1915	1914
January	-1-59,800,000	-1-1,900,000
February	-1-43,900,000	-800,000
March	-1-45,900,000	-2,300,000
April	-1-49,300,000	-200,000

It will be seen that while more money was withdrawn than deposited in the first four months of 1914 the increase in deposits for the corresponding period of 1915 was 198,900,000 rubles. The entire increase in deposits in the last vodka year, 1913, was 38,600,000 rubles, or an average of 9,600,000 per quarter. The

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average increase of 1915 as compared with that of 1913 is, therefore, more than 20 fold. The treasures of the Monasteries compared with those which prohibition has brought, are but a bagatelle. There has also been a marked growth in the monetary resources of institutions of small popular credit. The insurance operations of the state savings banks also report expansion.^H

The Monopoly brought in such huge incomes to the state that it was commonly said its abolition by the government would be like the chopping off of one's own legs. Nothing so serious, however, has occurred. "The budget has been much less affected," said M. Bark in the above quoted interview in the *Petit Parisien*, "than one would have believed. The productivity of labor has increased on an average 50 per cent and all the fiscal resources which come from direct or indirect taxes have greatly developed. The tax on

H Mr. Corse, the Manager of the N. Y. Life Insurance Co in Petrograd, writes me: "In the first seven months of 1915 the deposits in the state savings banks amounted to Rr. 360,800,000 more than for the corresponding seven months of 1914. Further, during these seven months of 1915 over Rs. 99,000,000 of state papers were deposited with the state savings banks in excess of what was deposited for the same period of the preceding year, making the total effective deposits in the savings banks for the first seven months of 1915 Rr. 460,000,000 in excess of the corresponding seven months of the previous year. There is every reason to believe that the deposits in the savings banks would have shown still more favorable results had the governments on the western frontier of Russia been normally functioning. Military operations in large sections of Poland and the Baltic province have naturally made savings impossible and paralyzed the domestic and economic life of this territory."

Mr. Sherwell describes these increases in savings as "considerable." More impartial observers would use a far stronger term. It is interesting to observe the little rills which make up this rising flood of wealth. Mr. Clare, pastor of the British-American Church in Petrograd, illustrates from the case of his housemaid. Russian girls of this class are very loyal to their parents and are wont to carry their savings with them when they go to the country from Petrograd on home visits. This year this particular girl brought the money as usual to the old folks but found they did not need it. She therefore deposited it in a savings bank on her return to Petrograd. I was told that this is no isolated occurrence.

The increase in savings has obliged the government to open new district savings banks in Petrograd. Some of the old vodka shops have been utilized in this fashion. Others have become collecting centers for Red Cross and relief work; at others stamps are sold; at others industrial alcohol. Some, their walls pitted with innumerable dints where the wax seals of the vodka bottles were broken, are closed altogether. The curtains are drawn. One thinks of an evil, pock-marked face when the eyes are shut forever in death.

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sugar, for example, has brought in much more than in preceding years. The less alcohol the more sugar consumed by the taxpayer." "Before, when we derived our revenues from vodka, it was as though we were forever drawing out, drawing out"—he made a gesture as though milking a cow—"the vitality of the Russian people. Now at the end of two months of temperance we seem to be taking merely the interest on their stored-up strength and resourcefulness."⁸ The Bureau of Statistics of Nijni Novgorod estimates that the savings of the peasants in the five Prohibition months of 1914 would enable them to pay the usual taxes twice over.⁹ "The land tax," reports a judge in the Luga district, "formerly always in arrears, is now promptly paid." Prof. Westergaard, the Danish political economist, has said somewhere of national Prohibition that "its introduction would occasion no greater economic disturbance than when one throws a large stone into a strong current. The next moment the stream flows over it as if it had lain there for centuries." How perfectly the figure conforms to fact in Russia! And one must further always remember how inauspicious the time for broaching so radical a reform seemed to be. Yet so successful has it proved even in war time that one can almost compare it with the ether of the operating table.

Wealth has been conserved in unexpected ways. One of the most interesting by-products of Prohibition has been the diminution in disastrous fires. In the peasant religion of Russia there is much animism. The *moujiks* know of *Vodiavoi*, or water spirits, who haunt marshes and drag men into the depths, of *Domovoi* or barnyard spirits, who torment animals, of *Polevoi*, who strangle peasants in the fields and annoy

⁸ Miss Brush, Saturday Evening Post, 14. Interview with M. Bark.

⁹ Quoted in L'Abstinence, March 13, 1915.

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drunkards, of the spirits of pestilence and many more. One can safely predict that the disappearance of vodka will have an effect on these sprites comparable to the morning note of chanticleer. One of the most dangerous of all, the *Ovennik*, or barn spirit, is the author of fire in hamlet and farmhouse. On winter days the peasants are wont to burn straw and wood in the open air to appease his malice. But since August, 1914, he has shown a marvelously restrained temper. In Petrograd itself the fire department has had relatively little to do. In the country the flame cry of the "red-rooster" is heard night-times with far less frequency. The Russian insurance publication *Strahovje Delo* reported comparative statistics for August and September in the vodka and Prohibition years, 1913 and 1914, respectively.¹⁰ In the government of Voronesch the number of fires were 542 and 152, respectively, and the payments on policies, 106,077 and 15,953 rubles. In the government of Jekaterinoslav 310 and 147 fires and 28,893 and 13,287 rubles. In Minsk the number of fires fell from 169 to 77. In Orlov from 464 to 215, in the government of Moscow from 490 to 235. Up to the Prohibition months the number of fires in these governments had for some years been in constant ascendance. One company doing business in these five provinces reported in 1914 a surplus of 400,000 rubles and is now proposing to lower its insurance rates. In a document from Poltava these statistics are given. Number of fires in August-September, 1914, 330 as against 437, in the corresponding period of 1913; of houses burned down, 402 as against 707, of money loss 44,216 rubles as against 64,401 in the earlier year. Such figures give new meaning to the saying that drink is the worst enemy of the home. One finds the tendency general. Thus in Rjazan

¹⁰ Quoted in Fram, Feb. 12, 1915.

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there were 873 fires in August, 1913; in the Prohibition August of 1914, 462. In the government of Tambov the Septembers of 1913 and 1914 registered 480 and 221 fires, respectively. The chairman of the most important committee of the Imperial Duma quoted to Prof. Simpson, of Edinburg, statistics of the *zemstvos* to the effect that in all the governments of Russia there was, in the first three months of Prohibition, a diminution of 47 per cent in the number of fires and of 56 per cent in amount of damage done.

Compared with the banning of the vodka the Russian function of the blessing of the Neva is a trivial thing, indeed. One hears of social betterments of the most varied types. In the Ardatov district near Moscow, for example, an increase in the number of marriages is reported.¹ Formerly the consumption of much vodka was indispensable on such occasions. This brought the expense of the ordinary marriage up to 200 rubles; of the "better" marriages to 300. Now a good marriage can be celebrated for 100 rubles. In the government of Minsk, before Prohibition, the potatoes were made into vodka. Since Prohibition starch and potato meal factories have come into operation and there is a large export of potatoes to other provinces. "Formerly in the country districts," writes an agronomist employed by a *zemstvo* near Moscow to give agricultural instruction to the peasantry, "it was always unpleasant to hold talks because of drunken interruptions. Now there is quiet and order and close attention at the meetings." Prof. Simp-

¹ Prostitution is also said to have fallen off markedly. This is a natural movement in view of the intimate co-operation between lust and alcohol. Feminine degradation helps sell beer, and beer finds a market for feminine degradation. In Petrograd women of this class have found their trade diminish and have had to go to honest work. Those who combined it with running a wine shop have had to quit since prostitution alone has not paid financially. The Birzhevya Viedomosti reports a Nijni Novgorod physician as having had 250 cases of prostitute girls needing medical assistance during the Fair period of 1915 as against 600 in 1914. Similar reports come from Warsaw and elsewhere.

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son's Duma informant tells a similar story. "Latterly the old men did not come to the village assemblies because they were continually subjected to insult by the younger men when half-drunken. Now they listen to the older men so that the latter say, 'We have again become fathers for the young men respect us.' " In Tambov agricultural societies meet more often and pay their secretaries better. There are fewer bad debts. "Formerly when I shod a horse for 50 kopeks," said a blacksmith, "the owner would ask, 'Shall we have a bottle over it?' The bottle would be bought with the shoeing money and the price of the work charged. In this way debts accumulated. But it is never so now." Employees do not run after advances as formerly. Mr. Valonskiy, the owner of leather factories at Tchernaya Sloboda speaks of one of his mechanics who received 80 rubles a month and free lodging, but who formerly always insisted on advanced pay. Now he lets his wages accumulate for two or three months before asking for it. One curious result of Prohibition has been the great growth in membership of temperance societies. Thus the accessions to the Alexander Nevski Society in Petrograd ran in the last months of 1913, 51, 31, 45, 53, 50, but in the last months of 1914 with such figures as 2,759, 3,046, 2,203. The immense significance of the alcohol question seems to have dawned on the popular consciousness after a few weeks of experience of the prohibitory period.

"In the country one gets the impression that the peasant has awakened out of century-long sleep to a new life," writes the Petrograd correspondent of Rit-zau's Telegraph Bureau. "The schools are overfilled. Even grown-ups, those who did not know reading and writing before, have joined. They flock in such num-

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bers to the evening readings on agriculture and engineering that they have to sit on the floor."¹¹ This renaissance of self-respect and of intelligence is described in *Politiken*, of Copenhagen, (April 4, '15), by a Russian correspondent, M. Lubinsky.

"Before the war broke out the village folk-motes passed off in utmost quiet. All the peasants took part in these meetings, but the rich peasants decided everything and elected the village leader. The vote of the village was simply bought up with free vodka. It was cast for the man who was able to supply the most drink. But what a change now. There is life and go in the discussions. Votes are not purchased beforehand. The rich peasantry no longer dispose over a medium by which they can buy their way to power. The result is altogether astonishing. Most of the former village representatives have been replaced by people from the *moujiks'* own body—temperate, intelligent persons, who understand their business. That the secret ballot was introduced the same time with vodka Prohibition is also not without significance.

"Another remarkable consequence of Prohibition has been the abolition of the *kolak* supremacy in the villages. The *kolak* was the village usurer who loaned poorer peasants money for their seed at staggering rates. When the borrower had gotten in his crop in the fall he had to sell the last straw to pay his creditor. He stood then with empty hand and was obliged to borrow again of the *kolak* and to work on the latter's land. The word *kolak* signifies "the clenched fist." The *kolak* was the bloodsucker, the autocrat of the villages. To make sure of his grip he was wont to set up little drinkshops where the peasant could drink on credit.

¹¹ *Russkia Viedomosti*, quoted in *Contemp. Review*, Sept. 1915.

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"With the disappearance of the vodka has come the entrance of the newspaper. The peasants subscribe for one in common—a phenomenon, hitherto practically inconceivable in a Russian village."

IV

I called on Prof. Dr. Bechterev, of the Imperial University, and the head of the Psycho-Neurological Institute of Petrograd. Dr. Bechterev is the leading neurologist of Russia and the private physician of the Tsar. He will be remembered by newspaper readers as the psychiatric expert in the famous Beilis case. His home is on the lovely, peaceful Kamanoi-Ostrov, with its memories of Rubinstein and the "Twelve Portraits" (op. 10). For a whole hour he sat in his chair recounting to me the amazing success of the new order. "Hospital wards for 'the white fever' (the Russian name for delirium tremens) are practically empty. Suicides have fallen to a minimum. The jails are void of hooligans.¹ The Duma is nearly unanimous in favor of permanent Prohibition. If, by any chance, wine is allowed re-

¹ For some time past the hooligans of Petrograd have been as disquieting a social phenomenon as the Apaches of Paris. It has been suggested that they were at first organized by the Black Hundreds, but later got out of the control of these political reactionaries. Regular gangs, armed with Finnish knives, prowled about, making it dangerous, especially for women, to travel through certain quarters and back streets. The police were becoming both afraid of and unable to handle them and were often stabbed by them. The struggle for their suppression promised to be both long and formidable. The authorities arrested these youthful ruffians and would often send them into exile into the villages. *Coelum non animum mutant*. They not only displayed the same activities but taught the village boys their evil ways. Then came Prohibition and, as early as the 26th of August, Prof. Bechterev could write in the *Birzhevnia Viedomosti* that hooligans had disappeared as by a magic wand. It will not do to say that the war took them off for the mobilization at that early date had hardly touched this class. Roughs in the villages who had been wont to make country roads unsafe with lead set in thongs of leather with which they slung-shot harmless passers seem also to have abandoned these practices.

"Crime has everywhere diminished," said M. Bark to the Paris correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*. (Feb. 4, 1915.) "In some districts it has disappeared altogether." The *Ekaterinoslav zemstvos* are said to have considered the feasibility of suppressing police appropriations in

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entrance it will be so heavily taxed as to be a class drink. No beer above 2 per cent alcohol in strength will be permitted sale. Coming state monopolies upon matches, sugar and other staples will make good the financial deficits caused by the suppression of the vodka monopoly. The war Dr. Bechterev believed to have proved helpful to Prohibition in that it had put millions of drinkers under temporary discipline. He anticipated, however, no reaction when they returned home. Opinion favorable to Prohibition has so developed that it will not be possible to break it down later. The movement has, in fact, safely passed the crest of the hill.

Then I rode with him to the Psycho-Neurological Institute at the other side of the city and talked with his assistant, Dr. Gorielov. "The blessings of Prohibition," averred Dr. Gorielov, "cannot be exaggerated. They are, in fact, so great and so varied that it is impossible to enumerate them all. The people could not be more satisfied. There was a certain opportuneness in choosing the outbreak of the war as the time for trying the experiment. Everybody accepted the new order as a matter of patriotism. There were no long discussions; no ups-and-downs of agitation. Then

view of this fall in criminality, deeming the amount granted by the central government sufficient. The whole phase of criminality before and after Prohibition will be the object of careful official exposition. The following figures for Moscow indicate what statistical conclusions will probably be reached:

	Assaults	Public Scandals	Offenses Against Authorities
May (vodka)	230	1,243	242
June (vodka)	199	1,306	265
July (half-Prohibition)	121	810	148
August (Prohibition)	68	447	72

Various types of crime in the Kostroma government are reported as follows:

	April-June, '14	Aug.-Oct., '14
Crimes vs. public order	2,344	442
Indecencies	89	8
Murder	74	24
Offenses vs. public officials	325	174
Bloody assault	305	164
Theft	1,429	944

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when the proofs had been delivered *ad oculos* for 15 months public opinion was made up both as to the feasibility and the value of Prohibition."

When the war broke out the hospitals of the Institute were taken over for the use of insane soldiers and arrangements were made for the reception of a number of such cases far larger than in the Russo-Japanese war, since the number of troops engaged in the present war is so much greater. But, strange to say, the number of insane has been actually less because of the almost entire absence of alcohol psychoses. In fact the northern armies have furnished just one case of alcoholic insanity and the record of the southern armies, whose hospital is in Moscow, is equally good. This is in marked contrast to the French and German armies, where the number of alcohol psychoses has been very large. Attached to the Psycho-Neurological Institute is a special hospital for alcoholists.^K While hundreds came to it before Prohibition, tens only now apply. At its opening some years ago a press of 5,000 applicants sought treatment. "We hope for the time," said Dr. Gorielov quaintly, "when, thanks to Prohibition, there will be only dogs to experiment on in our studies of alcoholism." Prof. Bechterev has spoken (pp. 99-100 *Vorlos Alkoholisma*) of "the futile and infinite discussions in scientific congresses and commissions," as nothing more than "little islands in the vast sea of popular drunkenness." In Russia the sea has drained away and the congresses and commissions can continue their

^K This Institute hospital has an unique record for the treatment of alcoholists—a very high per cent of its cases having been cured. It is this success in eliminating the appetite which leads Dr. Gorielov to believe that Prohibition will overcome all the transitional difficulties from substitute drinks. "There is no natural craving for narcotics." The treatment uses suggestion (in a hypnotarium—a dark room with low lights, a soporific jingle of music, a dial plate with moving colored spots which induce hypnotic drowsiness, etc). The diet is wholly vegetarian with a preliminary milk period. No tobacco is allowed. There is much open air work, hydrotherapy, continuous baths, etc.

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deliberations upon dry land. The brackish residue of this deluge is, according to Dr. Gorielov, inconsiderable. "Only one-third of 1 per cent of the Institute cases are due to denatured spirits. In comparison to the immense calamity of legalized vodka the damage from illicit substitutes is negligible." Dr. Gorielov affirmed his belief that "in 25 or 30 years, with Prohibition, all the terrible consequences of the era of alcoholization will have disappeared and a nearly complete regeneration of the nation will have taken place."^L

"There has been," said Dr. Alexander Mendelssohn, at the meeting (March 29, '15) of the Russian Society for the Preservation of National Health, "a reduction of alcoholic sickness in Petrograd and of the attendance at the anti-alcohol ambulatoria, a decline in the number of the dipsomaniac insane at the Obukhovsky Hospital; also of general cases of mental affection in the capital. An asylum for drunkards in Tula reports that the average number of alcoholists received monthly up to August 1, 1914, was between 400 and 500. In the first six months of Prohibition (August-January) the total received was but 537. Only eight of these were sent monthly to hospitals as against an average monthly shipment of 100-150 before Prohibition.¹² These were denatured spirit cases. A friend of the writer, a former Red Cross sister, living in this government of Tula, 140 *versts* from Moscow, remarks that the epidemics which came periodically out of Moscow, spreading through the country, are

^L Prof. Simpson of Edinburg quotes "one of the most distinguished (Russian) professors of economics" to the same effect. "What I have seen compels me to ask for absolute restriction (i. e., Prohibition) of beer as well as of vodka. If we can arrange that for twenty or twenty-five years the population will not have the opportunity to drink. Then the question is solved. If we can do that—and I am not unhopeful—Russia will be saved."

¹² Vestnik Tresvosti, April, 1915; p. 22.

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far rarer than formerly. This is due, no doubt, to the increased resistance of a de-alcoholized and better-fed population. The same thing is, she reports, noticeable in country families when in the spring time children are taken with cramps and bowel trouble from eating green fruits, etc. Once the sickness would bring down the whole family. This is no longer the case. The Bacteriological and Medico-Sanitary Organization for Fighting Epidemic Diseases During the War confirms the opinion of this observer. It has formally expressed its satisfaction and thanks to the Tsar for closing the drinkshops, "in view of the great aetiological influence which alcohol has on the causes and course of infectious disease." Equally important is the fact that the Medical Faculty of the University of Moscow has, as a corporation, thanked the Tsar for Prohibition. "Our land is now temperate." The Russian Imperial Society for the People's Health, through its sub-committee on the alcohol question, has issued a pro-Prohibition statement. The Pirogov Society, the leading Russian medical society, after three days of deliberation on the subject, has done the same (see Appendix pp. 71-79). Russian officers are quoted (*Die Alkoholfrage Zeitungskorrespondenz*, April 15, '15; similar statements in *Vestnik Tresvosti*, Feb., 1915). "Etherizing of the wounds takes place quickly and without disturbance. The healing of wounds is speedier. The disappearance of alcohol has had a wonderful effect on the general health conditions of the army. Forced marches of an incredible length are undertaken, with battles between, and yet our men are not exhausted. In spite of the exceptionally unfavorable conditions the number of sick is less than in ordinary barrack life. Wherein lies this miracle

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of physical resistance? The doctor says, "The strength of the body is not destroyed by indulgence in alcohol." In the huge Morosov factories in Moscow, which employ over 10,000 persons, a fall of nearly 40 per cent in the number of accidents was registered in the first three months of Prohibition. The statistics of traumatic lesions of the Obukhovsky Hospital, Petrograd, tell a similar story. During the last half year of 1913 there were 710; of 1914, 237.

On the morning on which the writer left Petrograd his attention was called to the press items of the Imperial University, which appeared in the *Birzhevaya Vedomosti* for that day (Sept. 9, '15). It was stated that the medical department was finding great difficulty in securing bodies for the dissection rooms. The same report is mentioned from other places. It is customary to send bodies of persons dying on the streets, if they are not asked for, to the medical schools. Dr. Grigoriev has made a striking chart of suicides and attempted suicides in Petrograd between 1906 and 1915. The curve which rises to a great height after 1906 as a consequence, it is alleged, of the disillusion which followed the abortive revolution of 1905, fell abruptly in the last months of 1912. The figures are as follows:

1906	903	1911	2962
1907	1377	1912	3123
1908	2268	1913	2614
1909	2379	*1914	1523
1910	3196		

*With only five months of Prohibition.

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The statistics for 1914 and the six months of 1915 are as follows:

1914.	Men	Women	1915.	Men	Women
January	110	72	January	33	39
February	114	65	February	24	25
March	146	57	March	35	49
April	144	67	April	26	22
May	129	64	May	28	17
June	129	55	June	27	21
July	64	45			
August	18	19			
September	16	31			
October	24	29			
November	29	26			
December	26	41			

According to Dr. Mendelssohn, the number of suicides in Warsaw during the first half of 1914 was 419; during the second half, but 205, and yet the war terror of the Polish campaign came in the second half of the year.

V.

THE societies for the protection of animals report better times for the lower creation and the women and children are as gratified as the horses and cows. Why shouldn't they be? In hundreds of thousands of Russian homes the noise of drunken fracas and broken glass has died away.^M One hears now only the peaceful hum of the

^M The Chief of Police of Yeletz exhibited the register of drunkards to Mr. Faressov, a correspondent of the *Novoe Vremya*. From this it appears that, in 1913-14, up to the outbreak of the war, from 400 to 500 drunks were recorded every month at police quarters. After Prohibition they fell to between three and four. "The drunkards' register," said the Secretary of Police, "is more eloquent than words. Formerly I was called on for assistance by women who had been beaten and tortured by drunken husbands. Now there is an end of bruises and livid wounds."

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samovar. The whole *carillon* of Ivan Veliky, with its 30 joy-bells and the great bell's bass thrown in, would not suffice to express the satisfaction of Russian women with the new emancipation. The Petrograd correspondent of *Svenska Dagbladet*, from whom we have quoted elsewhere, has described the sights on pre-Prohibition paydays outside Russian factory entrances. "Hundreds of women could be seen waiting for their husbands in order to rescue a little of the weekly pay before it was too late. The greater part of the wages earned both by laborer and peasant were raked into the Monopoly shops." Now the women are able to visit the markets regularly on Saturdays. In the Baltic provinces during the first few weeks of Prohibition they went over and over again to the newspaper offices to inquire "if it would be so forever." "The little father is beginning to be good to his children," they would say; "he is giving them honey." In Archangel 3,000 women ask the city government to petition for the Prohibition of the sale of all alcoholic drinks for all time and the council decides so to do by a vote of 30 to 7. When the Russians occupied Tilsit, they extended Prohibition to the East Prussian town. "For the Prohibition of all kinds of intoxicants," says the *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Frauenmissionbundes*, (Nov. 2, 1915), "we were thankful from the bottom of our hearts. Many poor wives of drinking men were tempted to wish that the Russians might stay on for good." Prohibition would have meant a Peace of Tilsit of indefinite duration in many Tilsit homes. It is freely remarked that any attempt to reinstate vodka in the Russian villages would provoke a fighting spirit among the women beside which the stormiest demonstrations of the English suffragettes would be but zephyrs.

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The children, too, soon felt the change. From the first days letters from the peasantry began pouring into the Imperial family. Fathers would write to the Tsar, mothers to the Tsarina. The children appealed to the Tsarovitch. "Thank your father that we also have a father" would run their letters. "Ask your father that we may not lose our father again through drink." Mme. ———, the daughter of a Russian admiral, has a day nursery in Petrograd for 65 or more boys and girls of from three to twelve years of age. Formerly there was much misery among them. Now, she tells me, the children both of whose parents live, have nearly all left and the nursery is practically devoted to orphans and half-orphans. The first class does not need further help; they are well fed and cared for. From different reporters I learn that formerly peasant children in a family would frequently have only one pair of shoes among them. They were, therefore, obliged to take turns going to school in cold weather. Now it is common for each child to have its own footgear.

Delegations of peasants traveled to Petrograd to petition the Tsar to continue the Prohibition *regime*. When they could not go in person they sent letters from their poor villages. "We know neither how to write nor read, but we will pay to the Minister of Finance the money which he receives from the sale of vodka and with joy. They can impose new taxes. They can lay a special drunkards' tax. Everybody will pay. The government will then get its millions and we shall be in good health and prosper."¹³ "Heads of large concerns employing labor," said the Minister of Finance, "have said they would pay in cold cash the sums necessary to cover the deficit in revenue, and could afford it easily from the larger

¹³ L'Abstinence, No. 6, 1915.

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incomes derived from the increased capacity of employees." When the Tsar's telegram proclaiming permanent Prohibition was published it was greeted with jubilation. "It is as the resurrection from the dead!" "I could kiss the Tsar's feet!" Thanksgiving services were held in churches all over Russia. Newspapers without regard to party color devoted articles to the new emancipation. Mr. Hamilton Fyffe, after remarking on the strangeness of the strange phenomenon—the sudden disappearance of all alcoholic drink from a nation in which it had bulked so largely for centuries, continued: "Yet there is one thing stranger. Nobody makes any audible complaint. The truth is nine-tenths of the nation are convinced of the benefit of giving up (vodka)."¹⁴ But this, indeed, is a very negative statement of the general content. The intensity of sentiment is expressed far more sharply by M. Bark: "This law is felt by the Russian people to be, not a restriction, but an incalculable boon conferred upon them by their provident monarch." (Interview with the Paris correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, Feb. 4). "If I should propose to annul Prohibition there would be a revolution in Russia." (Interview with Mr. Lloyd-George.)¹⁵

A steady stream of appeal for the retention of Prohibition has come from the local governments. These are directed against wine and beer, as well as against vodka. On the 27th of September, 1914, cities and rural communes were given permission to forbid the sale of these drinks during war time. On the 13th of October similar powers were extended to the *zemstvos*. The Petrograd City Duma, by a vote of 96 to 39, passed wine and beer Prohibition. The Moscow Duma did the same by an even larger majority (112

¹⁴ *Daily Mail*, Feb. 4, 1915.

¹⁵ Speech at Bangor, Wales, Feb. 20, 1915.

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to 26.) Hundreds of communes, in taking similar action, passed resolutions in addition favoring the *permanent* suppression of these two drinks. In the protocols of great numbers of workmen's co-operatives, peasants' unions, societies of lawyers, and scientific societies, one finds resolutions urging permanent wine and beer Prohibition. Some also make suggestions as to methods for effectively checking improper sale of denatured spirits. In reading the reports pouring in from all quarters of Russia one gets an impression of an unanimity of sentiment not unlike the overwhelming democratic sentiment in the France of 1789 as depicted in Taine's studies of the documents of the Revolution. Bishop Nikander, of Viatka, telegraphs to the Viatka *zemstov* thanking it for its decision to suppress wine and beer. The Waiters' Aid Union of Moscow, on the 9th of November, sends word to the Moscow city government stating that the temporary difficulties into which Prohibition has brought the waiters are as nothing, compared to the misery which wine had brought on others. They bespeak, therefore, the continuance of Prohibition.¹⁶ When the wine interests of Moscow appeal secretly to the central government to rescind the city's Prohibition of wine, the Mayor, Tchelnokov, protests against any interference and, going over to the offensive, sends circulars to the city governments all over Russia, urging them also to adopt wine and beer Prohibition. Unique and admirable Mayor! The head of the Russian railways sends out a circular to all sub-managers giving them permission to prohibit wine and beer at all railway restaurants and buffets and the permission is promptly acted on. When the city Duma of Kansk, in Siberia, suggests allowing the sale of wine up to 16 per cent strength, the people

¹⁶ Vestnik Tresvosti, Jan., 1915.

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call a mass meeting and oblige them to close up everything in sight. Bishops and clergy appeal to the Holy Synod to bring its powerful influence to bear in favor of permanent Prohibition and the Synod responds magnificently (see Appendix pp. 69-71). When the city authorities in Vladimir propose that all vodka dispensed for medicine shall be sold from one shop, a physician arises in the council protesting that vodka is no medicine and that physicians should have no right to prescribe it. Staroff, an anti-Prohibitionist, in the Kursk *zemstvo*, remarks that he has sat in *zemstvos* for 30 years and vodka has never been mentioned. "Now the talk is everywhere about Prohibition. It is a true epidemic!"¹⁷ Already up to March, 1915, 8,390 rural communes and 467 cities or government *zemstvos* had petitioned the government on the subject. Eighty-seven per cent of all resolutions asked for permanent Prohibition and the inclusion of wine and beer in the Prohibition. At times expressions of fear lest the good thing should slip through the fingers and escape, have come to utterance. Citizens of Nijni Novgorod, disturbed by rumors, besought the Grand Duke Constantine Constantinovitch, as honorary citizen of their town, to send some statement from the Tsar on the matter. The Tsar wrote on the telegram which Constantine sent him: "The people need not fear! No sale of beer and wine will be allowed during the war!" and the Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolaiovitch issued a statement (July 21, 1915), through General Krupenski to the effect that "the rumor spread by evil-minded men that the sale of wine was again to be permitted was a false rumor." Russian anti-alcoholists are concerned to see other nations pass into the same great experience. At a private conference, at which the writer was present, they

¹⁷ Vestnik Tresvosti, Jan., 1915.

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said: "We must appeal to temperance men in all lands to hurry, hurry! They do not know how good a thing Prohibition is." Two utterances, one from a peasant, the other from a *savant*, sum up sufficiently well the general feeling. Mr. Romanoff, an owner of factories in Louchek, is, although a millionaire, an illiterate *moujik*. "There have been two happy events in my life," said the old peasant; "the emancipation of the serfs and their emancipation from drink. I could weep for joy! I would prefer death to seeing the people drinking again," and he crossed himself reverently when he learned that the government was determined never to reopen the vodka shops. Dr. Ramstadt, *docent* in Asiatic languages in the University of Helsingfors, recounted to the writer a conversation which he had in Petrograd with Dr. Rudnev, the vice-secretary of the Imperial Academy of Sciences. The meat of the latter's remarks was contained in one forcible sentence: "Anyone agitating for the return of drink in Russia ought to be lynched."^N

^N The Imperial Duma opened on the 9th of February, 1915. President Rodsjanko in his address for the day referred to vodka Prohibition as follows:

"In the midst of the present world-war the Russian people are experiencing a transformation such as has never before happened in the history of the world. Our honored ruler has sought to exterminate one of its worst enemies and has given a new direction to the people's life. Through this, the most important action of our day—that of curing the people of a deep, ingrown evil—a decisive step has been taken. The whole land of Russia turns with the feelings of deepest gratitude to the Tsar with the prayer, 'Accept, great ruler, our deepest appreciation. Thy people believe fully and firmly that thou hast made an end of all this past evil.'

There are many striking illustrations of the high valuation of Prohibition. Michael Tchelichov was much ridiculed some years ago for his fiery anti-alcoholism. In 1915 he died, after seeing his great ideal realized. Prof. Golubov of the medical faculty of the University of Moscow, while lecturing to his students upon alcoholism as a cause of disease, took occasion to pay a tribute to this unwearied and self-sacrificing life now closed. At the end of the lecture the students rose in a body in respectful tribute. The city of Samara, which Tchelichov represented in the Duma, decided by the unanimous vote of its municipal council to place his portrait in the legislative chamber, to found a memorial anti-alcohol museum, to erect three memorial stipendia in the middle schools, and to change the name of the street Saratovskaija to Tchelichovskaia. Then they appointed a commission to elaborate more detailed plans for honoring the great antagonist of alcohol."

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There is little to record in the way of counter-opinion. In Estonia and Courland the people have been unable to forbid the sale of beer and wine to the same effect as elsewhere, because of (Baltic) German influence. In Libau the proposal failed by a tie vote in the city council—25 to 25. Of the opposition 24 were Germans and one Russian (a paedagogue!) “Specifically German,” said their prophet, Nietzsche, “is the alcohol-poisoning of Europe.”¹⁸ With the advance of the German armies in Poland the beer holes have reopened. It is intimated by some that “society” wishes the return of wine. If this incomparable moral triumph is to be nullified and become a dream of the past we may be sure it will be because of this element. Wine is the thin edge of the anti-Prohibition wedge and the people who drive it in are ever “the cultivated.” Certain of the upper class in Petrograd are described as the most obstinate in their adhesion to drink, going across to Wiborg (in Finland) to get wine in the first-class restaurants, where its sale is allowed. And yet, if the privileged but knew it, Prohibition, by relieving extreme misery and by checking the spirit of violence, really constitutes one of the best safe-guards against excess, both revolutionary and otherwise, and, therefore, naturally one of their most respectable defenses. For example, Mr. Bartchenko, a notary public at Yeletz, remarks that if after the surrender of Przsemyśl to the Austrians it had been possible for the peasants to have gotten hold of vodka their suspicions would have led them to attack the authorities and the well-to-do in their neighborhoods.

18 Nietzsche, *Zur Genealogie der Moral*, p. 150.

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VI

IF ever anything deserved the title of a bolt from the blue for the international poison interests it has been Russian Prohibition. As soon as they got their wind after the first surprise they began setting up their familiar shabby scare-crows in the international press. Russian Prohibition was "a failure." An American resident in Russia reported to me seeing half-page advertisements in newspapers of the American Central West affirming, from alleged official documents, the Muscovite fiasco. These documents were saucy fabrications. Listen to the *Giornale d' Italia*: "The consumption of denatured alcohol has passed all bounds. Numbers have intoxicated themselves with shellac. Traveling peddlers circulate through the country selling all kinds of mixtures. The people, instead of drinking the scientifically distilled products of the great government distilleries, among the most perfect in the world, are drinking all kinds of lurid drinks. Vodka, compared with these substitutes, appears a minor evil, perilous drink to be sure, but relatively honest." One risks getting one's feet wet in such floods of crocodile pathos!

It is obvious that all this can be true and false at the same time. True, because such phenomena do actually appear, being the natural and expected *sequelae* of the preceding period of alcohol saturation; false in the attempt to prove them of decisive, or even considerable, importance in the general situation.^O The *Vestnik Tresvosti* (April, 1915) quotes

^O In the *Int. Monats z. Erforsch. d. Alkoholismus*, Sept., 1915, is a translation from "The Voice of the People, an Official Investigation by P. E. Termitin in the government of Penza, 1915," concerning the attitude of the population towards the Prohibition of alcoholic drinks. This is based on an enquete in 206 Penza parishes from which 2,167 answers were received. Of these 64.8 per cent declared that they found no difficulty in passing to enforced abstinence: 22.6 per cent declared that it was hard at first but easy afterwards, and 12.6 per cent that it was still

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statistics to the effect that 1825 illicit stills were suppressed in the Russian Empire in the last six months of 1914 (five months of Prohibition). Of these 160 only made spirits, 92 rectified varnish, and 60 rectified denatured spirits. But in 1912 there were discovered in the whole year 3,073 illegal stills alongside of 2,913 legal ones. There has been, therefore, no clearly proved increase in the amount of illicit distilling. It is further, in the nature of the case, easier now to detect illicit distilling than formerly. A striking illustration comes from Riga, where a large distiller, Von Zur Muhlen, was, for years, defrauding the excise with ingenious arrangements of subterranean pipes. Not until the Prohibition months was he discovered and given the generous fine of 1,300,000 rubles. There is reported to have been a certain amount of smuggling of spirits into Siberia from China as of opium into China from Siberia. It is also said that "Monopol Vodka" from America has been seen in Siberia. But if these things really occur they occur on a very small scale. Mr. Sherwell speaks of "the pushing of the sale of a so-called grape wine, a poisonous liquid." This is apparently none other than Laddevin of his blessed Christiania, the Tarragona of his peerless Gothenburg, the Blud-dervin of his impeccable Stockholm. We heard noth-

hard for them. The next question had to do with the consequences of abstinence (better appetite, better health, greater desire to work, better family relations as against weakness, disinclination to work, irritation, loss of appetite). Eighty per cent spoke for the first category of results: 20 per cent for the latter. When it was asked how many had used substitute drinks for the alcoholic ones 259 confessed to having done so against 1,626 who had not (14 per cent and 86 per cent, respectively). Kvass, a slightly fermented drink like root beer, was mentioned by 125 of the 259, a kind of barley beer in 30 cases, wine 22, denatured spirits 51, Hoffman drops 10, etc. But the majority of these after a short trial stopped. "Of 1,885 men, after a trial of two months' time, only 54, or 3 per cent, sought to get around the law and the most of these satisfied their thirst with fermented drinks: 1,656, or 84 per cent of those asked, desired permanent Prohibition of both vodka and fermented drinks. A similar enquete was made by the officials of the Government of Charkov. Only 59 out of 1,352 (4.3 per cent) were mentioned as using denatured spirits.

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ing of it in Petrograd.^P The single critic of Prohibition the writer met, an American, added to the old formula: "One can get it in the hotels. There is no trouble," the important qualification: "It will cost you 50 rubles." Denatured spirits are drunk somewhat, as in other lands. One recalls, for example, the 30 or 40 persons poisoned by methyl-alcohol in a Berlin night refuge three years ago, some of whom died. Whatever drinking of denatured spirits exists in Russia at present is chiefly in the factory districts, not among the peasants. Yet one informant tells me that 10 years ago denatured spirits were not infrequently drunk by peasants because they were cheaper than vodka. The government is honestly preparing to plug up all the rat holes. It has offered prizes up to 30,000 rubles for the best method of rendering denatured spirits repulsive to the taste and of causing vomiting or diarrhoea to those drinking it, together with a great number of other prizes for the better utilization of alcohol for power, light and manufacturing purposes. These are to be awarded in 1916. When Prohibition first existed it was very easy to separate denatured spirits by straining through charcoal or fine glass. Other elements have now been added which make the process more difficult. A skull

P Prof. Simpson of Edinburg University mentions having "conversed with more than a hundred men whose positions entitled them to speak with authority." "There was not one who did not speak approvingly of the vodka Prohibition, and most of them simply on empirical grounds—because of the results." The only adverse comment we have seen concerning Russian Prohibition comes from Mr. Sherwell, a gentleman with a touching, old-fashioned faith in the Gothenburg System, but who generally gets the spy-glass to his blind eye when the question of Prohibition is under consideration. From his distant watchtower on the British Isles he discovers that the prisons of Kursk are full of drunkards, that mortality from drunkenness in Petrograd has increased under Prohibition, etc., etc. (Contemporary Review, May, 1915.) He further mentions a great increase in card-playing (!) as one of the deplorable consequences of Prohibition. Count Skarsczynski of the Russian Alcohol Monopoly, with whom Mr. Sherwell has been in correspondence, told the writer in his office in Petrograd that men were even eating yeast in Russia to satisfy their alcohol cravings! Such statements have value as indicating how difficult it is for anti-Prohibitionists to find anything with which to discredit the Russian experiment.

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and bones is placed on the label of every bottle with the words: "Pure Poison! Beware!" and it is explained that it can ruin eyes and even kill, since it is a corrosive poison. Freeing it from denaturing elements is strictly forbidden. It is sold only to respectable persons, in some places only to women, and only between the hours of from 9 to 12 and from 2 to 5. These are hours when factory workers cannot easily get it. The shops are closed on all Sundays and holidays and on the days preceding Sundays and holidays. As holidays are very common in Russia, this is a tremendous restriction. Thus, a lady told me that on the preceding week when she tried to buy spirits for burning purposes she found that Wednesday and Friday with Sunday were holidays. This made consequently a closed period from Monday night to the next Monday morning. Plans are under way for allowing the sale of denatured spirits only to those possessing a sales book provided with coupons. In many instances men arrested for drunkenness from methylated spirits are exiled to the country and told not to return to the city. All this shows the tremendous earnestness of the government in its determination to uphold the Prohibition system.

Vodka is sold for medicinal purposes (compresses, etc.) by druggists, but these are very disinclined to handle it. It can be obtained only on prescription from druggists and the druggist must telephone to the doctor to make sure that the prescription is valid. One must often wait several days before one can finally get it. A register of sales is kept and if any doctor has over-numerous vodka prescriptions it is inquired into. Two Petrograd doctors are said to have been despatched to the front for having filled too many prescriptions of this type. Dr. Gorielov thinks the tendency to hunt substitutes is on the *retour*.

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Abnormal craving seems to be subsiding. "Let them drink it and kill themselves," say the common people of incorrigible alcoholists. "We shall then be quit of the whole thing." A statement, which the writer heard, but could not verify, affirmed that the police even had recourse to the stomach pump to frighten those who insist on drinking impossible liquids. Drunkenness, as well as the illegal sale of wine and beer, is punishable with fines up to 3,000 rubles and with three months' imprisonment. Petrograd and Kronstad apothecaries who have ventured to sell Hoffmann drops or other substitutes have been treated in the same way. These Draconian penalties certainly imply an unbending decision on the part of the authorities.

VII

IT may be suggested that such impressive consequences of Prohibition could only appear in a land whose previous alcoholism had been of an extreme type. That this is not altogether true is clear from the experience of Finland. Finland had, before Prohibition, the lowest *per capita* alcohol consumption in the world. All that regulation and restriction has accomplished anywhere had been there carried out. It is instructive, therefore, to see how far the best that can be done by palliative falls short of Prohibition. Prohibition in Finland quickly brought the latent and surviving alcoholism to light—and remedied it. The average monthly consumption of spirits dropped from 423,244 liters to 37,391, of which 20,000 were used by apothecaries for legitimate purposes, leaving only 17,391 liters disposed of in first-class restaurants (Kylväjä, p. 313. 1915). It must be remembered that for the first months of the war the privilege of selling spirits was allowed in

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first-class restaurants. It is now prohibited, but beer and wine are still sold, a concession to the upper classes, ever the most virulent enemies of Prohibition. Wine and beer can also be purchased in quantity—25 liters of the first and 24 bottles of the latter. The import of spirits from abroad is also permitted. Finland is, therefore, under a defective Prohibition only, although Dr. Helenius is undoubtedly right in his estimate that the consumption of alcohol in Finland now stands nearer 0 than 1 liter *per capita*. The official statistics of drunkenness are given in *Finland's Svenska Nykterhetsförbund Arskrift*, 1915, p. 186.) In the 10 chief cities the total arrests for drunkenness for the period August-December in 1912, 1913 and 1914 were 18,272, 18,616 and 4,408, respectively. In 14 smaller towns the arrests for drunkenness for the same months in 1912, 1913 and 1914 were 2,337, 2,371 and 529. The statistics for all other crimes during the same August-December period in the 10 cities were 4,273 in 1912, 4,374 in 1913, and 2,557 in 1914, while in the 14 small towns it was 1,017 in 1912, 976 in 1913, and 392 in 1914. The spirits barometer could not speak more plainly.^Q

The economic effects of Prohibition find illustration in Finland as in Russia in the statistics of loans from pawnshops. The number of such for all Finland was, in 1914, 485,302 against 539,543 in 1913. It must be remembered that only five months of 1914 were Prohibition months. The Wiborg Loan Office

^Q Attempts have been made to minimize the successes of Russian Prohibition by reference to the fact that great masses of men are at the front and away from drink. But in Finland all the men are at home. The writer, on his way to Petrograd, passed through Umea and across Finland on a fifty-hour ride on trains stopping at every station and full of soldiers and a rather rough third-class traveling public. He was also in Petrograd when the streets were full of troops at the calling out of the reserves. Nowhere in either Finland or Petrograd did he see drinking or drunkenness. But at Umea, where he passed the last night on Swedish soil, the hotel was stormed in the night by young and very drunken conscripts clamoring for lodgings.

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gives the months August-December separately. There were 6,939 loans of 91,979 marks in the 1914 period against 10,829 loans of 132,501 marks in 1913. The smallness of these loans shows that they are made chiefly to the very poor (*Arskrift*, 1915, p. 188).

In 1912 an *enquete* was held in Helsingfors to get the impressions of the leading citizens as to what Prohibition would mean to Finland. The then director of poor relief, Colonel Melart, prophesied "an immense increase in police expenses for the checking of illicit sale with no corresponding decrease in drunkenness."^R These lions in the way have, on approach, vanished into thin air. Mr. Breitholz, of the Poor Relief Department, Helsingfors, expressed to me the satisfaction of his office with present conditions, ("fewer applications for help; children better cared for") and arranged interviews with various of his charity visitors. The testimony of these deaconesses was always the same. "There is no question that the prohibitory law has been a blessing. The women especially are gratified and want it continued. There is a marked improvement in food, clothing, and furniture of the homes. The children, being better fed and clothed, are much quicker and brighter in school.

R Other contributors offer the usual anti-Prohibition wisdom. Thus Prof. Victor Heikel, "A general Prohibition law would, in my opinion, be only a misfortune for our land, for we should only be swamped with Russian spirits instead of Finnish, not to speak of moonshining and smuggling. . . . Those who teach the workmen's wives to cook good food and keep a pleasant home do far more for temperance than those who cry for a Prohibition law. The same can be said for all work which encourages saving." (As if Prohibition, as in Russia, were not the best encouragement to saving among hundreds of thousands.)

In the answer of Mr. Jacques Ahrenberg, architect, we get the metaphysical dogmatics of the moderationist. "Evil is eternal and necessary as good. A mechanical removal of vice is of no value. (Russia again?) There must be an inner transformation. (But do not outer transformations contribute to inner ones?) Pastor Collan, of the Poor Relief, Helsingfors, has a wiser story. He tells of his home town in Karelia. "When beer was sold in the hotels there was much drunkenness. This ceased when, under local option, it was prohibited. Then the railways came and it was possible to import it from other places and drunkenness began again. Men drink when they can, get drunk and forget about it when it is not accessible. The thing is simple enough."

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Christmas, 1914, was one such as very many homes in Helsingfors never saw before. Former drunkards tell us that they have not had, for a dozen years, whole shoes until now. They are glad that they cannot get drink and wish the same experience for the *Herrene* (gentry). We see very little of violation of law."

I talked with Dr. Heilimo, the Secretary of State for the government of Nyland (of which Helsingfors is the capital). He affirmed that the high officials of Finland were satisfied with Prohibition. There had always been considerable violation of excise laws in Finland in the past, but Prohibition made it easier to secure evidence against violators. The authorities are now aware of the devices of such persons and are enforcing the law with strictness.⁸

As soon as partial Prohibition was ordered by the government the Finnish people began starting petitions that it be made complete and permanent. In Helsingfors (a city of 160,000 people and the stronghold of the Finnish alcohol interests), they had already collected the signatures of 43,215 persons over 21 years of age when word came from the Russian Governor stopping the movement. I was interested to learn from Prof. Dr. Robert Tigerstedt, the physiologist of the University of Helsingfors, that he had hurried from his laboratory on the last day to the store where the petition had been placed for signing, in order to add his signature before it should be too late. "I did not believe Prohibition possible and was, therefore, opposed to it," he said to me. "Now I realize that it is both a feasible and a satisfactory

⁸ Thus the Governor of Wiborg Province condemned six persons in Möhla to three months' imprisonment each for having bought malt, sugar, and yeast and brewed therewith a drink called "kilju," which on analysis was found to contain 3.5 per cent alcohol. The Governor of Tavastehus province fined three apothecaries 1,500 marks apiece for having sold cologne water for drink. The drug-mixers begged permission to make, instead, a contribution of the same amount to the Red Cross if the matter should be kept quiet, but without avail.—Fram, Jan. 15 and Feb. 12, 1915.

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policy." Other professors in the university expressed similar opinions. Baron Korff, professor in the Russian Civil Law, was only troubled lest people in Russia and Finland should not be sufficiently on their guard against the alcohol interests, who were even then carrying on mole-work to undermine confidence in Prohibition. Prof. Laitinen, now at the head of the whole medico-sanitary system of Finland, while warning against premature conclusions, called attention to the fact that there had been a sharp decline in mortality in 1915 in Finland (from 15-16 in the thousand to 13 plus.)

Finland has long had the start of Russia in the matter of alcohol reform. For the well-to-do of Petrograd it plays the part of the Maine coast to New Yorkers. Its lakes, its woods, its long "white nights," are its summer recreation capital, but there is, as in the Maine villages, another asset. A little guide to Russia speaks of the Russian country districts within reach of the metropolis as unattractive, because the peasants are too often "dirty, poor, and on Sundays and holidays drunken." Those in the Finnish country districts on the other hand "are, because the sale of alcohol out of the towns is prohibited—healthy, intelligent and sober." When the burghers of Petrograd have gone back to their offices Mondays they are not anxious for their wives and daughters on the country roads of Finland. For in Finland the long alcohol tentacles have been chopped off. The head and glaring eyes of the octopus have lived along in the Company System shops of Helsingfors and some other larger places, but their days are drawing to a close. It is hard to believe in view of the rapid advance of Prohibition sentiment in the present generation, that the most terrible famines known to Finland were, so late as 1866-67, due to the excessive distill-

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ing of grain in 1865; that at least a fifth of the grain supply of this naturally poor country went ordinarily, into the still, while the people ground up beech bark for use in preparing bread.^T

VIII

RUSSIA, we may fairly say, has "solved the drink-problem." She has done more. She has discovered to the world how simple the problem really is. It is the old story of Columbus' egg. Russia has demonstrated that we need no graded course—regulation, Gothenburg System, local option, "education of sentiment up to Prohibition." No people had less anti-alcohol education than the Russians. The law itself is schoolmaster. Nothing educates more effectually either upwards or downwards. The best education for Prohibition is Prohibition. Only the law must be enforced. In Russia enforcement is possible through centralized auto-

^T Here is another illustration of the advance of alcohol-free culture in Finland. The magnificent students' club on the Henriksgade, Helsingfors—a club in which both men and women students share without the slightest embarrassment, allows no alcohol. The bar, which is served by girl students in rotation, provides fruit syrups, Russian tea, chocolate, buttermilk, etc. It is all so cleanly, so high-toned, so charming, and in such contrast to the beer brutality of German academic life with its bloated student faces and pale, overdriven waitresses. But it was not always so in Helsingfors. The hygienist, Prof. Sucksdorff, gives a picture of his student days before university life was purged of alcoholism, which, in view of the immense improvement, offers encouragement to anti-alcoholists everywhere.

"It was the first of May more than 30 years ago," he writes. "At that time it belonged to the order of the day that May Day celebrations should end in a free fight in the Brunns hus Hall, a fight of which it was said 'It begins with the students, draws in the docenten, and ends with the professors.'

"There was a long table in the hall on which stood glasses and bottles with all kinds of drinks. The May celebrants joked and chaffed each other and the feeling was so friendly that a fight seemed impossible. But without a fight no First of May feast could properly end, so certain young polytechnicians took it upon themselves to go around and sharply cuff those sitting at the tables. This naturally awakened annoyance and, before one was aware, a general fight was a-going. In a moment the long table with glasses and bottles was removed by the waiters and the whole hall filled with a violent tumble in which acquaintances and strangers tore and smote each other to heart's content." (P. 66, Arsskrift.)

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crazy; in the United States it will be possible by federal action backed by the women's vote.

The more radical and general the Prohibition the more successful. Prohibition "fails," not because there is too much of it, but too little. We have never had more than a partial Prohibition in any American state for no state forbids importation for private use, Russia has shown us a genuine and nearly complete one.

Russian Prohibition has its lesson for Socialists. This is that alcoholism is a consequence of alcohol and not primarily of the capitalist system. It can be cured by removing alcohol. It has nowhere been remedied otherwise. When alcoholism is out of the way economic questions will be susceptible to far easier and quicker solution. No Prohibitionist, however, proposes that reform should stop at Prohibition; that the producing classes should live on land in an eternal steerage such as one sees in the melancholy Schlüsselburg suburb of Petrograd, with its cotton mills, stearine factories, and iron works. They only insist that their own pressing reform be neither neglected nor deferred, and Russian Prohibition, the midwife to a new social order, justifies their insistence.

Also for the social talkers has Russian Prohibition its lesson. The theory of these people is that the drink evil can be competed out of existence by "substitutes." This has never been done and after the Russian experience we may be sure will never be done. For the substitute experiment was tried in Russia during pre-Prohibition days on a scale which will forever discourage imitation. The Official Temperance Committees were given the prestige of the highest official patronage. Governors of provinces, noblemen, the metropolitans of the church,

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served as chairmen or members. At one time the yearly appropriations for their work reached as high a figure as five million rubles. In 1912 they supported 3,598 alcohol-free tea and eating houses,^U 307 inns, many of them with stables for horses, 174 night asylums, 4,115 loan libraries, 380 people's book shops, 531 evening schools, 6,840 places where lectures were given, 374 people's theaters, 1,087 municipal societies, 43 bureaus, where free legal advice was dispensed, 13 employment bureaus, 13 private hospitals for alcoholists, and 28 other places where drunkards were aided and provided with medical advice. These places were visited yearly by more than 90 million persons. The Norodny Dom, or People's House, near the Peter-Paul Fortress in Petrograd, together with the five branches in the city, is equipped with the greatest lavishness. Theaters, concert halls, restaurants, *carrousels*, a wide range of deliciously hazardous "American amusements" welcome people of all tastes and by the ten thousand. Tickets are sold at low prices with large blocks of free seats. Great artists, like Shaliapin, the Russian baritone, constantly appear for the benefit of this public. In short, everything has been done to combat alcoholism indirectly by so-called "positive" agencies. There is said to have been a considerable decline in the consumption of vodka in Petrograd as a consequence of these great expenditures. This we can well believe, although in Moscow, where similar enterprises were initiated on a large scale by the Grand Duke Sergius, there was in the same period a rise in consumption in spite of the committee's efforts. But no one could call the activities of the Russian committees of temperance a "solution" in the sense that national Prohibition has

^U Meals were provided in the village restaurants for 5, 8 and 10 kopecks. For tea with sugar and bread, 3 kopecks (11-2 cents) were charged.

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proved a solution. Court plaster is good and has its uses, but it is no remedy for galoping consumption.^V

The whole substitute theory is a brilliant illustration of traveling with the cart before the horse. The Russians have transposed the two successfully. Nor have they abandoned the cart. Committees, Prof. Bechterev tells me, are being formed to provide substitutes for the banished drinkshop in all cities and throughout the country districts. It is not necessary to press these substitutes upon a half-narcotized people. They are eagerly demanding them. "The *zemstvos* of Tambov and Kiev find it impossible to establish all the libraries asked for in the country." "In the Viterbsk government the district *zemstvos* are petitioned by the people for lectures." And generally large sums of money are being already expended by *zemstvos* for such cultural purposes. The Kanov *zemstvo* (government of Kiev) has appropriated 10,000 rubles for instruction on the alcohol question (that the people may realize the fate they have escaped!) Concerts, theaters and cinematographs are being started in places which never before had them. During the autumn of 1914 there was an increase in attendance of 30 per cent at two of the Moscow Norodny Doms in spite of the war. The saving on vodka enabled laborers to attend these places and to take their families with them. Similar reports come from Moscow theaters and Moscow churches which last are reported as "so full that an apple would have no place to fall." Best of all, the people are in many

V We would not minimize what substitute work accomplished. Neither can we minimize what it is unable to accomplish. Prof. Fortunatov assembled statistics from state records and those of cities and *zemstvos*, which make clear the steady advance of alcoholism at least up to 1912. (*Vestnik Tresvosty*, May-June, 1915). In 1903 74,500 in all Russia visited doctors for alcoholism. In 1912 145,000. In 1902 there were 3,548 reported alcohol psychoses; in 1912, 9,173. One can see from such statistics that these recreative provisions were, after all, little more deep-seated or permanent in their effects than water drops falling on a red-hot stove.

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places no longer depending on aristocratic or moneyed patronage, but are initiating their own substitutes. In the Gustovar village of the Bolkhoff district, for example, the peasants, after the Prohibition of vodka, collected money among themselves and purchased a cinematograph with 12 films. With this they not only earned money to cover the original investment but to buy a fire engine for the village.

By justifying the claims which Prohibitionists have made for Prohibition Russia has given us a measure by which to mete the profound injury those professors, editors, and politicians have done to our social and public life who, for two generations, have sneered at and blocked this policy. There are some men the American people ought never to forgive. Whether they are now conscious of it or not they have made war on women and children. They have burdened tens of thousands of lives with a crushing weight of inherited degeneracy. They have made our municipal public life a public stench. They have done all this by delaying a bitterly needed major operation and they are so far responsible for the social gangrene resulting.

Russian Prohibition will give an impetus to Prohibition enactment elsewhere. It is already proving an object lesson to other countries. The mutes are coming off the violins. When the wonderful five weeks of national Prohibition during the 1909 Swedish general strike first showed the world what national Prohibition would do for a people, not a whisper of this profoundly interesting demonstration got to the American public. But everybody knows of Russian Prohibition. One reads long and sympathetic accounts of it even in such hitherto reactionary anti-Prohibition papers as the *N. Y. Times* and *N. Y. Outlook*. The wider results of the Russian move-

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ment will develop presently. If Russia and the United States become permanently Prohibition nations other states will be bound to follow as a result of economic pressure. These two mighty economic units will be as upper and nether mill-stones to all states retaining their alcohol commerce.



APPENDIX

Dr. Anton Karlgren on Vodka Prohibition

The well known newspaper of Stockholm, *Dagens Nyheter*, has proved itself in late years, one of the most uncompromising and dangerous enemies of Prohibition in Sweden. When, therefore, we find in its pages (Oct. 7, 1915), a five-column panegyric of Russian Prohibition, we can believe that the facts in regard to that movement are of a truly compelling character. This panegyric is written by Dr. Anton Karlgren, the responsible editor of the paper, a man who possesses a thorough knowledge of both the Russian language and of the general conditions in Russia. He begins by affirming that "the great Russian temperance reform has not, in Sweden, been taken with full seriousness. A people with the experience of decades of what temperance work implies, finds it undeniably difficult to believe that the way to popular sobriety is so easy as that which the Russian has taken . . . But one who, as the undersigned, travels to Russia to make some little study of Russian Prohibition and who only expected to get some affecting experience of Russian trick and device for evading Prohibition, finds the scepticism with which he had regarded this Russian Prohibition measure powerfully shaken. At first he is greatly surprised and at the end seriously impressed. . . . A wholly superficial examination of the reform's workings confirms the fact that the influence of vodka Prohibition to date has been of an almost revolutionary character."

Dr. Karlgren then proceeds to point out that this is not a reform which has been forced on the people

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from above against their will. There have been for a long time back, constant appeals from the communes and city governments for prohibitory measures. In thousands of Russian towns temperance organizations had been established under the leadership of so-called *bratsy*, "little brothers." Large numbers of drink-shops were closed in reply to the demands of the agitation. When the rescript forbidding vodka sale during the mobilization was published there came a singularly unanimous appeal from *zemstvos*, co-operative unions, and societies of the most various kinds, that the Prohibition should endure for the war period and, if possible, forever. In the beginning of September the ukase appeared which forbade the sale of alcoholic drinks during war time. A month later in return to a congratulatory telegram from the "Union of Christian Abstainers in Russia" the Tsar gave assurances that he had determined to end permanently the sale of vodka in the Russian dominion.

After a year of enforced abstinence questions arise as to the present situation. "In those quarters within and outside of Russia where, from the beginning, men looked with disfavor on Prohibition it is affirmed that it has already lost all practical significance. Whisky drinkers in Russia, they assure us, have known how to arrange things. The consumption of drink under Prohibition is not much less than under the monopoly. Certain Russian newspapers do all in their power to spread this idea by making a great noise about violations of Prohibition which have been discovered. Their items on the unearthing of illicit distilleries, the arrest of makers of substitute drinks, etc., are then accepted in foreign lands as a proof that the experiment has already ended in fiasco." Such reports Dr. Karlgren explains are greatly exaggerated. "It is absolutely impossible to get either

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vodka or beer." In some cases wine and cognac can be purchased illegally, but at absolutely 'hair-raising' prices. Russian restaurant life bears the stamp of complete sobriety.* Otherwise it has not greatly changed. Night life in the restaurants has, indeed, vanished. The great Moscow and Petrograd establishments are entirely empty at 11 o'clock. But day-times one cannot observe that Prohibition has scared away the guests or lowered perceptibly their good humor. Russians have, even in gloomy days, a good load of high spirits aboard and require even less than other peoples to seek them in the glass." "They have learned in the past year to prepare extraordinarily pleasant varieties of Kvass—bread kvass, crust kvass and the rest, which outdistance all Swedish temperance drinks and might well be introduced in Sweden."

"During the first period of the war illegal distillation and sale of vodka flourished . . . but the raids which were made upon this traffic have been, as we have learned from various informants, entirely effective. At present Russian temperance men look on the widespread use of substitutes as the real danger." . . . "But the use of these substitutes concerning which the enemies of Prohibition make so much noise should not be over-estimated. Those who have studied the question more closely have shown clearly that it is only the worst alcoholists who have resorted to them, in many cases continuing the use to which their corrupted taste had brought them before Prohibition. These are persons who, if they should poison themselves as soon as possible, would but thereby benefit society. The great overwhelming majority of the Russian people, we are as-

* Tips, according to a merchant who travels widely through the country, are described now commonly as *nacofe*, or coffee money, instead of by the earlier name *navodka*, vodka money.

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sured, have absolutely nothing to do with the use of these substitutes."

"One does not have to turn to statistics to prove that Russian popular sobriety is no bluff! Even the most cursory visit to Russia gives an extremely powerful impression of this fact. During three weeks' stay in Petrograd and Moscow I saw only a single drunk. It was a laborer out in one of Petrograd's suburbs who, one evening, sailed across the boulevard spreading around him an odor of denatured spirit which, for a good hour, stifled all the various other aromas of a Russian street. But in the proletariat quarters where formerly at certain hours of the day one could scarcely find a sober person, everywhere model conduct as to drink reigned—conduct which the Swedish capital might well envy. The so-called Skalm Market Place of Moscow, the most degraded meeting place in Russia, had become as sober as a Swedish Good Templar lodge.

"When one talks with Russians about the workings of vodka Prohibition one hears almost invariably the same assertion. The temperance reform can be compared in importance only with one other great reform in Russian previous history—the emancipation of the serfs."

While calling attention to the danger of premature conclusions in judging from one year's experience only, Dr. Karlgren continues: "On the other hand one must admit that the results of Prohibition which one can oneself observe and which are reported from reliable persons are really of an astonishing order."

"Never have Petrograd and Moscow offered such pictures of relative prosperity as now, although one would have expected that the war and the high prices would, on the contrary, have intensified the chronic poverty of the large cities. It is actually difficult to

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recognize Russian streets. One of the most characteristic types of Russian street life, the repulsive begging proletariat, which before dogged every step with prayers for "bread pennies in Christ's name." (i. e., money for vodka), has disappeared without leaving a trace. The lower population strikes one as better fed and without question better clothed than formerly. Even the Russian *isvostjik* (cabman), that incorrigibly alcoholized bunch of rags, has rigged himself up so that one is almost embarrassed to speak familiarly to him.

'In any case, and here Russian opinion is unanimous, it is in the country districts that the full extent of the blessing of vodka Prohibition clearly appears. One knows no longer the Russian village—this is the invariable opinion of all who have studied the thing closely. The hundreds of millions which, before, went into whisky, now remain in the peasants' pockets. Millions of working days, before lost because of drunkenness and its after-effects, now bring their profit to the peasantry. The consequence is that the Russian village is, so to speak, rolling in money. Peasants have begun to eat meat—a luxury which formerly they enjoyed but once or twice a year. They have begun to clothe themselves properly, to buy cattle and agricultural tools. There reigns, in a word, in the Russian country hamlets, a prosperity which no one before could have dreamed of. It has gone so far that city people have actually begun to grumble. The Russian city's economy has been based on the presupposition of the country's poverty. Now the peasants have themselves a chance to consume their own products and provide themselves with city products. As a consequence there is a rise of prices in the cities.

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"My government, Tula," relates Count Bobrinskij, a member of the Duma, "had a bad harvest last year. In addition, as the rest of Russia, it has had to bear war's burdens and has had its taste of high prices. In spite of all this it has not been necessary during the winter to distribute a single *pood* of grain for relief, nor in the spring a single *pood* of seed, although in the year preceding, when there was no crop failure, a distribution on a very extensive scale had to be made. In spite of bad crops, war, and high prices, the government this year is far richer than last year at the same time and the only explanation lies in Prohibition.

"The impression of this metamorphosis of Russian society after vodka Prohibition, which one's eyes and the testimony of trustworthy people give, is strengthened when one begins to study the rich statistical material which the first year of temperance has produced. Absolutely startling is the witness of the Russian savings banks. From August 1, 1913, to April 1, 1914, 61-2 million rubles were deposited. From August 1, 1914, to April 1, 1915, 262 millions.

One Duma member, the Nationalist Leader, Krupenski, laid the following little picture before me:

"In my town there are 5,000 inhabitants. These, during the last years, have consumed 40,000 rubles for vodka per year, i. e., eight rubles per capita. Let everyone keep five of these and pay three in taxes and let all the 200 million of Russians do the same and you will have an income for the state of 600 millions—about the amount of the state's (former) net income from the Monopoly."

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II

THE APPEAL OF THE HOLY SYNOD FOR PERMANENT PROHIBITION

(Somewhat Abridged)

(After a few months of Prohibition requests began to pour in to the Holy Synod from clergy and laity in all parts of Russia asking that it take action in favor of permanent Prohibition. In response to these appeals the Holy Synod handed to the Tsar at Tsarkoye Selo on the 27th of April the following statement. After reading it the Tsar penciled on its margin the memorable words, "The temperance of the people is the most trustworthy basis for the people's strength and happiness.")

Your Imperial Majesty! Great Emperor!

The carrying out of your majesty's will in the Prohibition of the sale of alcoholic drinks has put your majesty's loyal subjects in the unusual circumstance of a new temperate life and has given to Russia innumerable blessings. It has brought back to the Russian nation the full consciousness of its divine duty before God and history. . . The church authorities in the person of the Holy Synod appointed to guard the mighty spiritual treasures of the Russian nation, cannot notice this fact of the great moral regeneration of Russia without a feeling of deep satisfaction. . . By the decree of Your Majesty the Russian people, from whose weakened will the chains of alcoholism have fallen, are now reaching up towards the temple of the soul—that soul which your majesty has indeed brought out of a prison of misery by the Prohibition edict. Fear to God has been awakened. Respect to the laws and ordinances of the church have been strengthened. Faith and old Russian godliness

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have been revived. The people's capacity for useful work has been noticeably increased. Criminality has lessened. Happy holidays are no longer darkened by debauchery. Quarrels have ceased. All the peoples of many-tongued Russia, united in one large and peaceful family, are ready to fight the impudent invader to the last drop of their blood. Moral standards have developed in the people's intercourse. Peace and quiet have been established in the homes. Fathers and mothers have found again their lost children, wives their husbands, and children their parents. In one word the whole face of the Russian Empire is changed. The sense of morality among the people has risen and a serious and pure religious sentiment has been awakened in them to face the trials sent of God. . . . It is difficult to enumerate all the blessings coming from this great historic act of the sobering of Russia. . . .

In view of all this the Holy Synod cannot keep silence before Your Majesty, because of the fears which those self-styled sponsors of public interest awaken among us, the men who are seeking to open up again the sale of wine and beer. At the time when most men are rejoicing in salvation from that alcoholism which has been stopped in its pernicious course by the powerful action of your royal word, certain persons, interested in the distribution of alcoholic drinks, are seeking to make a breach in the defenses through which alcoholism may quickly again get at the people and take hold of them with greater power than ever. The danger of this is especially great in view of the pleasing taste of those drinks, although their use is followed by no less destructive consequences than the use of spirits. Accordingly, neither beer nor wine can be considered useful agencies in the fight against alcoholism.

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Therefore, the most Holy Synod, speaking for both pastors and flocks, bowing before this great historic act of Your Majesty, directed to the sobering of Russia, considers it to be its sacred duty to apply to you, Great Monarch, with a common prayer that the restrictions upon all alcoholic drinks may, in the future, retain their active power for the good and salvation of your subjects in Russia.

VLADIMIR, Metropolitan of Petrograd.

FLAVIAN, Metropolitan of Kiev.

MACARIUS, Metropolitan of Moscow.

SERGIUS, Archbishop of Finland.

NIKON, former Archbishop of Vologda.

ARSENIUS, Archbishop of Novgorod.

SERAPHIM, Archbishop of Irkutsk.

CONSTANTINE, Bishop of Moguilliev.

DEMETRIUS, Bishop of Riasan.

INNOCENT, ex-Bishop of Polotsk.

III

THE RESOLUTION OF THE PIROGOV SOCIETY

(The Pirogov Society is the leading medical society of Russia. It takes its name from the great nineteenth century Russian surgeon, Pirogov. In the 29th number of *Russky Wratch* (The Russian Physician) for 1915, is the report of a resolution regarding the alcohol question in Russia in its present Prohibitionist phase, which the society passed on the 28th of May, 1915. After affirming the importance of the fight against "our great national evil that corrodes the people's strength and soul," the society states that it considers it "a matter of duty" to publish the following document. Said document is couched in a series of lapidary theses.)

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A. As to the essential valuation of alcohol and alcohol-holding substances.

1. Scientific facts (drawn from physiology, pathology and clinical experience) compel us to place alcohol and substances containing alcohol in the class of poisonous and injurious things. Alcohol is a typical narcotic poison which, taken in small doses, from the beginning, disturbs the highest functions of the brain-cells and consequently causes a series of pleasant but illusory feelings of warmth, energy, bravery, etc.

2. With repeated consumption of small doses (so-called "moderation") the number of disturbances in the organism increases. This increase, however, is slow and gradual and consequently is unnoticed by the drinker as well as by those about him. The use of small doses of alcohol—always a narcotic poison—develops in some men, whose constitutions are weak, severer forms of alcoholism that are obviously the cause of much personal and social unhappiness. It has been proved that a regular consumption of small doses increases morbidity, mortality, the number of accidents, mental sicknesses, suicides, crime of every type, a both qualitative and quantitative *minus* of capacity in both mental and physical work. The concept "moderation" cannot be used for habitual use of alcoholic drinks since the customary use of a poison is non-moderation and misuse.

3. Inasmuch as substances injuring the body cannot be considered food, the society cannot classify alcohol as a food. For this reason beer and wine cannot be considered nourishing or strengthening or hygienic drinks.

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B. Concerning measures of a negative character in the fight against alcohol. Prohibition.

4. Mass alcoholism is a very many-sided and age-long social evil and one sustained by a combination of causes (economic, cultural, physiological and psychological). Because of this the fight against alcohol must take into consideration a multitude of measures.

5. Alcohol's fundamental character as a narcotic poison indicates that alongside other measures, prohibitory ones are necessary. As a first step in a difficult path prohibitory measures have, judging from the experience of many lands, great significance. Without them it is impossible to have a reliable and vigorous movement against alcohol. Therefore, it is not only the right, but the duty of the government to undertake prohibitory and restrictive legislation against the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors as is the case with other poisons.

6. A whole mass of existing facts allow us to believe that the cessation of the traffic in drink in Russia has contributed to a diminution of sicknesses of various sorts (including venereal and mental diseases) accidents (especially railway ones), fires, suicides, crimes and to an increase of industry and material wealth in the population.

7. The extension of the use of wine and beer cannot be a remedy against alcoholism because they lead to alcoholism (the well-known beer-alcoholism of Western Europe). Beer and wine are, on the contrary, dangerous because being weaker and more pleasant to the taste, they attract women and children.

8. Public bodies legislating for the public health should be granted the right to pass compulsory meas-

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ures for the stopping of the sale of liquors. The many-sided and pressing interests of the many millions of Russia's population must be considered before the narrower interests of a little group representing the alcohol interests.

9. The Meeting regards as necessary that not only internal manufacture, but also import from abroad be forbidden.

C. Measures of a positive character. General social measures.

10. The Meeting considers that in the struggle against such a complex social evil as alcoholism, it is not possible to stop with merely prohibitive measures of a negative character. These but constitute a better basis for positive social, economic and cultural action which should be as immediate and as vigorous as possible.

11. One of the most important causes of mass alcoholism lies in the instinctive effort among wage-workers to deaden the burdensome feelings that are a consequence of a depressed nervous system. These feelings are chiefly the result of abnormal conditions in life and work. In order, therefore, to eradicate alcoholism the Meeting considers it absolutely necessary to adopt measures of a social character that will contribute to the abolition of the above-mentioned abnormal conditions. To these belong shortening of the working day, raising of wages, suppression of overtime, improvement of dwellings and food, the organizing of various insurance enterprises with self-administration, the introduction of such legal changes as will facilitate more general activity among the working people, both in trades unions and in politics. In order to raise the cultural *niveau* of the masses it is necessary for the local authorities to work in this di-

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rection. Therefore, the organs of local administration must be reformed upon democratic basis.

12. Society's battle against alcoholism among the country people can succeed only under local self-government. Therefore, it is necessary to introduce a smaller rural unit as a basis for democratic self-government in all Russia.*

D. Anti-alcohol instruction outside the schools.

13. One of the chief causes of mass alcoholism is the complete ignorance of the nature of alcoholic drinks and a whole category of stupid prejudices in their favor. (This is true not only of so-called common people, but of the intelligentsia also.) A broadly based propaganda of all scientific facts bearing on the alcohol question is necessary. To this end anti-alcohol exhibitions, especially of a traveling type, would be useful; also anti-alcohol lectures with demonstrations, anti-alcohol literature and placards.

14. In order that anti-alcohol instruction outside the school may serve to de-alcoholize the people the following conditions must be observed: The people's initiative in general educational enterprises under communal self-government must be supported. There must be energetic support of co-operative enterprises and of trades unions and of popular educational societies. People's Houses must be introduced which will serve persons of all classes and strengthen the idea of a temperate life. There must be a popularization of art, erection of people's theaters, formation of people's orchestra, etc. These must be under popular control, since the good effects of such enterprises for fighting narcotic desire come not only from aesthetic pleasure, but from participation in management.

* This and succeeding political allusions seem, perhaps, somewhat irrelevant, but such unexpected remarks often occur in Russian popular documents. They are expressions of the general longing for freer action in state and society.

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B. The communication of anti-alcohol instruction to pupils in the schools.

15. It is proved that the beginnings of alcoholism among adults often go back to the years of childhood, especially to school years when children, under the influence of parents and other elders, learn to use alcohol. Alcohol's harmful action upon the organism expresses itself more sharply in children than in adults. It injures especially the nervous system and makes the child's system less resistant to diseases. Therefore, the fight against the alcoholization of the child should be carried on in the most energetic fashion by all social institutions (paedagogic, medical and parental). This preventative fight against child alcoholism will be more fruitful than that against the chronic alcoholism of older persons.

16. The best method is to give school children instruction as regards alcohol's harmful action. Such instruction should begin in the first stage of school life, for example, in the narrative of the reading books.

17. The school can and should work upon the family so that elders will not give alcoholic drinks to their children or use them themselves. With schools should be connected people's libraries and reading rooms, with books on the alcohol question. The hindrances which prevent popular anti-alcohol lectures and expositions in the schools should be removed. In the organization of such efforts the *zemstvos* and communal authorities should participate. In the secondary schools the peasants' committees should co-operate in the provision of anti-alcohol lectures. The educational system should be reorganized in order to give more freedom to the children and more respect to personality.

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F. The Medical Corps.

19. Participation in the fight against alcohol is a duty of every unit in society, of every citizen, and most of all of the doctors. The basic thought of the medical profession makes it incumbent upon doctors to fight in the front ranks in the movement against alcohol. This movement is necessary for the physical and mental health both of present and future generations.

20. Recognition is given to the principle that every physician has the right to use the remedy which he deems most useful. The Meeting, nevertheless, calls attention of Russian physicians to the following facts:

(a) That alcohol has a wholly special position among other narcotic substances—ether, chloroform, morphine, etc.—because it is so accessible to all. Physicians' prescription of strong liquors as "strengthening remedies" acts as a hindrance in the fight against alcohol because it gives a false idea of alcohol's value.

(b) This giving of alcohol upon prescription is a cause of alcoholism among invalids.

(c) From the statements of many chemists and investigators we may infer that the internal use of alcohol is of no help to the sick and can well be abandoned in their treatment. Therefore, the Meeting considers that physicians should avoid in every way prescribing alcohol and seek to make use of other remedial agents.

21. At the same time the Meeting would call the attention of the whole medically-educated world to the necessity of a new revision of the whole question of alcohol's value as a medicine and to the need of subjecting this question to a thorough unpartisan in-

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vestigation in laboratories, learned societies, and congresses of specialists.

22. In view of the fact that newspapers publish statements affirming that certain persons with doctor's title openly and for personal profit, misuse their rights by writing prescription for spirituous drinks, for which conduct some have been punished by the authorities, the Meeting considers said conduct by physicians as a violation of the doctor's oath. (In Russia, when physicians are inducted into the profession, they are required to take formal oath "to fight for life and against death." *Translator.*)

23. In view of the alcohol question's great social significance the medical faculties of the universities should acquaint the students with it. Post-graduate courses for physicians and for assistants ought also to be established.

G. On Substitutes.

24. Data concerning the internal use of various substitutes for vodka, the use of which leads to serious hygienic consequences and which lately have awakened much attention among the public, indicate that in extent and significance the evils of these substitutes are negligible, compared with those which vodka and other liquors caused to the general health. The exaggerated importance which is still given to these substitutes can be explained partly by the obviously serious results of certain cases of poisoning; partly by the circumstance that persons interested in the alcohol industry purposely over-estimated the significance of these substitutes. This is done in order to prove that, among the people, there exists an irresistible need for alcohol and that it is absolutely necessary to satisfy this need by allowing the trade in at least weaker drinks. Otherwise, they say, there is

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great danger of mass-poisoning with substitutes for alcoholic drinks.

25. In order to get at the real facts concerning the extent to which substitutes are being used the Meeting prays the management of the Russian Medical Society in memory of Pirogov, to organize over all Russia an inquiry, the systematic program of which shall be drawn up by scientists, men in professional life and provincial and communal corporations.

H. On the necessity of further study of the question.

26. The Meeting appeals to hospitals, factory and railway managements to collect conscientiously and to communicate to the Russian Medical Society in Memory of Pirogov, statistical material concerning the difference in morbidity (general and individual, venereal and mental), mortality and accidents, between the Prohibition period and preceding years.

27. This Meeting, which has been especially called because of the present situation, has expressed its opinion upon the most important phases of the many-sided alcohol question. In this question there are many not sufficiently studied phases which could not be discussed in the short three-day session and during the exceptional circumstances of war time. Since it is necessary thoroughly to examine all sides of this great social evil in quieter times and with more thorough preparation, the Meeting prays the directors of the Russian Medical Society in Memory of Pirogov to call together at suitable opportunity, a special meeting devoted entirely to the fight against alcohol.

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